


FLAGELLUM:
OR
The *LIFE* and *DEATH*,
BIRTH and *BURIAL*
OF
OLIVER CROMWEL

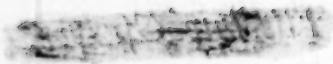

Faithfully described in an Exact
Account of His Policies and Successes,
Not hitherto Published or Discovered.

By S. T. Gent.

— Furto latatus inani
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
Virg. *Æneid.*

London, Printed for L. R. 1663.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
OLIVER CROMWELL



Printed by J. Sturges, in the Strand
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By J. Sturges, Printer

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To the Reader.



Here have been so many vulgar
Errors concerning this person,
and such mistakes of his Facul-
ties and Natural Endowments,
some being prone to indulge
Humanity, others to Ballance his great
successes with his evil Designs, and the rest to
abhorminate all; that I thought it worthy the
present time while those sad things we have
suffered are yet recent in memory, and no lye
dare be given to the Sun by any offuscation of
Truth, to pursue his Life with this Memo-
rial.

The World is not ignorant of Him, and
yet those few that truly love Him, that is,
Disturbances and Troubles, have great
thoughts of Heart as they phrase it concern-
ing Him; all the different Sects and Schisms
which He kept in perpetual separation and

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To the Reader.

misunderstanding, now run into a coalition; and like divided parcels of dying vipers, spraul towards a union with this their Head.

But they will here find that poyson of Asps under his Lips, which as the Naturalists tell us, will evenome those of the Species that come neer it, when it is cast upon the ground. No man either of Reason or Sobriety, of that party, can deny, but he was suck'd in by that Pestilent Air of his pious pretences, and and therefore they will I hope accept of this Antidote for the future in good part.

Magna virtutes nec minora vitia, great Vertues and no lesse vices have been adapted to most of the great men in the world whose Interest held the scale, for this was still the Impresse of just and rightful Monarchs, whom Posterity dare say no worse of, because no better. But Tyrannies and the enormous excesses thereof, leave no such exchange or value of their Crimes, nor can their Policies, Craftinesse, & Pretences commute with Prudence, Honesty or Justice.

There hath been indeed an ingenious Essay

To the Reader.

to commend Richard the Third, and to extol him as an Excellent Prince, and this not from any other Authority but his Heroick and Famous actions in the forreign and Civil Wars of those times: and if this Hector be measured by the same Standard, in length onely and not in Breadth, by the whole Circumstances of his Usurpation, he will make a better Subject for such a Pen, 200. years hence, then Fate for some 100 of years, hath troubled the world with.

But when the world shall see that those Felicities of his Sword and Brain were derived from, and accountable solely to the just Judgement of God, who gave us up a deserved prey to the Spoiler; and that there was nothing Extraordinary in him but in the Sins and vengeance of the Times, he being the Scourge of our Iniquity, they will convert their admiration into a reverence of that Supreme overruling power.

It is a Common but most observable Sentence of my Lord Chancellours, that the Malicious influence of some planets had caused this Horrible Defection and Feud among us: some ages more then other are
A 4 *infested*

To the Reader.

infested with Trouble worlds, Ours especially, for there have more Revolts, Detections and Secesses been made in Europe, then for many Centuries before; not to mention the like commotions, in the nearest and farthest parts of Asia, the Turkish and the Chinese Empires.

In Europe, I place and reckon this Cromwell as a Medium or Mean, betwixt two almost his Coteemporaries, Wallenstein Duke of Freidland the Emperors General, who from an obscure and wasted Barony rose to that Dignity, and thence aspired to the Imperial Diadem, but perished in the attempt; and Thomas Anello the famous Fisherman of Naples, who dyed in the frantick possession of the power he had so wonderfully attained to: for by a mixt adjument of Tumults, and Arms, and the Command upon the Rabble, and a mutinous disloyal Militia, did Cromwell usurp the Sovereignty, though he had the fortune (or we rather the Happiness) to dye in his bed, after the fruition of his envied Greatnesse.

Tyrants are like plagues and are well termed Pestes Humani Generis, they do not
ragin

To the Reader.

raign or rage always in all Climes & Countries, but come like other wonders into the World; the variety whereof do for the present stupifie and afflict the World, and then leave matter of enquiry and discourse, to assist against the suddenesse and some other shaped violence (for seldome do they come in the same form) of another rupture and rebellion against Nature.

There was something different in this mans Tyranny from all former precedents, as there were stronger and stranger Corruptions of manners in the Times He lived, so that he seemed to be accommodated to them. Never were there such wild Speculations, such dotages and caprichio's in point of Religion, which made half the Nation mad, and run with zeal to the ruin of their Country; Now the destructivenesse of these Chymera's and Whimsie's of Piety, that austere Sanctimony under which we laboured, could never better be discovered, then by the divine permission of this mans arrival and ascent to the Supreme power, thereby giving the world a Specimen of the deep mischief of pretended and morose Holynesse.

This

To the Reader.

That is the design of this Biography of Oliver Cromwell, who hath been excellently shadowed in the lineaments of Agathocles the Syracusan Tyrant, but here he is drawn in his proper and full proportions ; There are it must be confessed some passages herein coincident with the Histories of the Times which are borrowed thence, but generally there is very little which is not Novel altogether, and with which very few persons have been acquainted, as it is presumed, will appear to the Readers Satisfaction, who is desired candidly to excuse the tenuity of the Style, in so ample and so Masculine a Subject, considering it is an Epitome and abridgement, and to passe by or correct the Errata in the Printing.

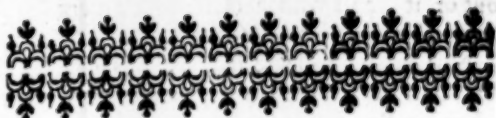
Vale,

Errata.

ERRATA.

PAge 14. line 22. for Sir John read Sir Robert. p. 13. l. 24. instead of the Pricks r. Sir James. p. 87. l. 1. Addendum, most abhominably and barbarously cruell he was in this place, for, near 200. of the better sort and the beautifullest Women of the City, having (upon the Town being entred) fled to the Crosse, and with the Command of their charming eyes, and those melting tears, prevailed upon the Soldiers for quarter, now at his coming thither, and after a laughing jeering enquiry what they did there, and other mocking insultations, were commanded to be knock'd on the head, which those that promised them life nobly refusing, He commanded another Regiment to encompass them, and there most horribly massacred them all. In p. 88. l. 16. It is very observable here, that though against the advice of the Council of War He had resolved on this Storm; upon the Defeat, He ascribed it wholly to their confidence in the Arm of Flesh and presently enjoined His old Crambe of a Fast, throughout the Army. p. 133. l. 5. r. to its vanquished Enemies: Nol's own argument. p. 136. l. ult. for professing, read possessing.

The



The Life and Death
 O F
OLIVER CROMWEL
 T H E
Late Usurper, &c.



AT E, when it decreed and ordained the unhappy birth of this *Famoso*, by her most secret and hidden malice brought him into the World, without any terrible remark of his portentuous Life, neither Comets, nor Earthquakes nor such like Violences of nature, ushering or accompanying Him, to the declaring and pointing out, that the Scourge of the *English* Empire and Nation was now born; as she did by indiscernible methods train him up to the possession of the Throne, and as secretly and cunningly after all his bloody and most nefarious actions shift him
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out of it , and with a blast of her spent Fury ,
turned him into his wish'd for Grave.

Nor did she midwife him into this light, which
he so horribly polluted by any unusual p̄ternatu-
ral or monstrous way, nor with Teeth, or Heels
forward , or long hair , nor with any marks up-
on his Flesh , as it is storied of *Julius Caesar*, our
Richard the Third, and others ; nor were the e
any presagious dreams , or fearful divinations of
his Mother when she was impregnate with him ,
as is mentioned of several, who have proved like
him to be the destruction and common Enemies
of Mankind.

None of all these signs revealed or discovered
the abstruse , and most reserved deep and myste-
rious Fortune of this person, The subtleties, Arts,
and Policies of his destiny, potently and irresisti-
bly conspiring with his as close Treasons and dis-
sembled Treacheries, to the ruin and overthrow of
this Church and State, singly and insensibly accom-
plished by the mean and unobserved Hand of
this bold and perjurious politique.

All therefore that to this purpose is noted of
him , is this , that he was born the last year of
that wonderful Century of 1500. to begin the
next with his fatal Marvails, just before the union
of the Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* ,
by King *James*, as if it were congenial to Crowns,
as to the other lesser accessions of Felicity in pri-
vate persons , to have at the same instant a tem-
perament and alloy to their lustre and greatnesse;
that

that as fortunes right hand presented a Scepter, so her left hand was ready with a Scourge to wreak her Envy upon the glory and grandeur of that renowned succession to, and accrument, of dominion.

Every thing hath its good and evil Angel, to attend or haunt it, and that grand and happy revolution was to be afflicted and prolecut by this Fury to an almost dissolution of its well composed, united, and established Frame.

He was born and descended of a very ancient knightly Family of his name in the County of *Huntingdon*, where for many ages they have had a very large and plentiful patrimony, it will suffice therefore to deduce him from no further originals then Sir *Henry Cromwell*, his Grandfather, a Gentleman highly honoured and beloved both in Court, and Country, who had issue Sir *Oliver* his eldest Son, *Henry*, *Robert*, *Richard*, and Sir *Philip* the youngest, (whose Son upon Suspicion of poisoning his Master a Lawyer, was accused thereupon and convicted, and hanged some 35. years agoe.) This our *Oliver Cromwell* was Son of Mr. *Robert Cromwell* the third Son of Sir *Henry*, a Gentleman who went no lesse in esteem and reputation then any of his Ancestors, for his personal worth, which did seem inherent in that Family, till his unfortunate production of this his Son and Heir, whom he had by his Wife *Elizabeth Steward*, the Neice of Sir *Robert Steward*, a Gentleman of a competent

tent Fortune in that County, but of such a maligne effect on the Course of this his Nephews life, as hereafter shall be declared, that if all the Lands he gave him, (as some were Fenny Ground) had been irrecoverably lost and deluged, by any accident or disaster whatsoever, it might have past for a most propitious providential prevention of that dire mischief and miseries that Estate occasioned.

He was born *April* the 25. in *St. Johns* Parish in the Town of *Huntingdon*, and was christned in that Church the 29. of the same Month *Anno Domini* 1599. where *Sir Oliver Cromwell* his Uncle gave him his name, being received into the bosome of the Church by her Rites and Ceremonies, botⁿ which he afterwards rent and tore, and ungraciously and impiously annulled and renounced.

From his Infancy to his Childhood he was of a crosse and peevish disposition, which being humoured by the fondnesse of his Mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and Masterless at mans estate.

No sooner therefore had he obtained the use of his Tongue, but his Father careful of his Education, sent him to School to learn the Elements of Language and principalls of Religion, both which he studied with the same indifference, and *inside* and fallacious endeavour, as afterwards appeared by his never speaking what he thought, nor be-

believing what he heard or was instructed in ; so that his main policy was a radical and original hypocrisie, which growing up with him, could not but be at last after so many years of Experience most exquisitely perfected.

From this A. B. C. Discipline and the slighted Governance of a Mistris, his Father removed him to the Tuition of Dr. *Beard* Schoolmaster of the Free-School in that Tovvn, vvhere his Book began to persecute him, and Learning to commence his great and irreconcilable Enemy ; for his Master honestly and severely observing that and other his Faults (vvhich like vveeds, sprung out of his rank and uncultivable nature) did by Correction hope to better his manners ; and vvith a diligent Hand and carefull Eye to hinder the thick growvth of those vices vvhich vv ere so predominant and visible in him ; yet though herein he trespassed upon that respect and lenity due and usual to Children of his Birth and quality ; he prevailed nothing against his obstinate and perverse inclination. The Learning and Civility he had, coming upon him like fits of *Enthusiasme*, now a hard Student for a week or two, and then a Truant or *Otioso* for twice as many months ; *Nunquam sibi constans*, of no settled constancy ; the very tenour and mode of his future life till his grand attainment.

Among the rest of those ill qualities which frustrated in him at this age, He was very notorious for robbing of *Orchards* ; a puerile crime

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and an ordinary trespasse, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoyls and damage of Trees, breaking of Fiedges and Inclosures committed by this *Apple Dragon*, that many solemn Complaints were made both to his Father and Matter for redresse thereof; which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his mind, on which so much pain was lost, that, that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down all boundaries of Law or Conscience, and the stealing and tasting the *forbidden fruit* of Sovereignty, by which as the Serpent told him, *He should be like unto a God.*

From this, he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of Dove-houses, stealing the young Pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them; and that so publicquely, that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent Countrey; and this was an unhappy allusory *Omen* of his after Actions, when he Robb'd the King his Sovereign of his Innocence and Vertues, and prostituted them to the People and Souletery, and made the World about him afraid of his Villanies.

'Twas at this time of his Adolescence, that he dreamed, or a Familiar rather instructed him and put it into his Head, that he should be King of England; for it cannot be conceived, that now there should be any such near resemblance of truth in Dreams and Divinations (besides the Confidence, with which he separated it, and the difficulty

ficulty to make him forget the Arrogant Conceit and opinionated pride he had of himself doth seem to evince, it was some impulse of a Spirit) since they have ceased long agoe. However the Thought or Vision came, most certain it is, that his Father was exceedingly troubled at it; and having angerly rebuked him for the Vainity, and Idlenesse, and Impudence thereof; and seeing him yet persist in the presumption thereof, caused Dr. *Beard* to whip him for them, which was done to no more purpose than the rest of his Chastisements, his Scholar growing insolent and uncorrigible from those restraints and invasions within him, to which all other dictates and Instructions were uselesse, and as a dead letter.

Now to confirm this Royal Humour the more in his ambitious and vainglorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the Custome in all great Free-Schools) that a Play called *The five Senses*, was to be Acted by the Scholars of this School, and *Oliver Cromwell*, as a Confident Youth, was named to Act the part of *Tactus* the sense of *Feeling*; in the personation of which as he came out of the Tying roome upon the Stage, his Head encircled with a Chaplet of Lawrel, he stumbled at a Crown, purposely laid there, which stooping down he took up, and Crowned himself therevwithall, adding beyond his Cue, some Majestical mighty vvords; and vvith this passage also the Event of his Life held good analogie and proportion, vvhen he changed

ged the Lavvrel of his Victories (in the late unnatural War) to all the Povver, Authority, and Splendor that can be imagined vvithin the Compasse of a Crovvn.

Nevertheless the Relation of a Father, and one so stern and strict an Examiner of him, (he being in his ovvn nature of a difficult disposition, and great spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him reverence from the Countrey-people) kept him in some awe and subjection, till his translation to *Cambridge*, where he was placed in *Sydney* Colledge, more to satisfie his Fathers curiosity and desire, than out of any hopes of Completing him in his Studies, which never reached any good knowledge of the Latine Tongue.

During his short residence here, where he was more Famous for his Exercises in the Feilds than in the Schools, (in which he never had the honour of, because no worth and merit to, a degree) being one of the chief Match-makers and Players at Foot-ball, Cudgels, or any other boystrous sport or game; His Father Mr. *Robert Cromwell* died, leaving him to the scope of his own inordinate and irregular will, swayed by the bent of very violent and strong passions.

There is little to be said more of his Father, that is requisite to his Sons Story, further than this, that whereas 'tis reported *Oliver* kept a Brew-House, that is a mistake; for, the Brew-house

house was kept in his Fathers time , and managed by his Mother and his Fathers Servants , without any concernment of either of these therein , the Accompts being alwayes given to the Mistris , who after her Husbands death did continue in the same Employment and Calling of a Brewer , and thought it no disparagement to sustain the Estate and port of a younger Brother as Mr. *Roberts Cromwell* was , by those lawful means ; however , not so reputable as other gains and Trades are accounted.

It was not long after his Death , er'e *Oliver* weary of the Muses , and that strict course of Life , (though he gave latitude enough to it in his wilde salleys and flyings out) abandoned the Univerſity and returned Home , saluted with the Name of young Mr. *Cromwell* , now in the room and place of his Father , which how he became , his uncontrolled debaucheries did publicquely declare , for Drinking , Wenching , and the like outrages of licentious youth , none so infam'd as this young *Tarquin* , who would not be contraried in his Lusts , in the very strain and to the excess of that Regal Ravisher.

These pranks made his Mother advise with her self and his friends what she should do with him , and to remove the Scandal which had been cast upon the Family by his means , and therefore it was concluded to send him to one of the Inns of Court , under pretence of his studying the Laws , where among the masse of people in
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London,

London, and frequency of Vices of all sorts , His might passe in the throng without that particular reflection upon his relation , and at worst the infamy should stick only on himself.

Lincolns-Inne was the place pitch'd upon, and thither Mr. *Cromwell* in a suitable Garb to his fortunes was sent , where but for a very little while he continued , for the nature of the place and the Studies there were so far regretful beyond all his tedious Apprentiship to the more facile Academick Sciences, (by reason Laws were the bar and obstacle of his impetuous resolutions and the quite contrary to his loose and libertine spirit, that he had a kind of antipathy to his Company and Converse there ; and so spent his time in an inward spight, which for that space superseded the enormous extravagancy of his former vitiousnesse. His Vices having a certain kind of intermission, succession, or transmigration, like a complete revolution of wickednesse into one another. So that few of his Feats were practised here, and it is some kind of good luck for that honourable Society that he hath left so small and so innocent a Memorial of his Membership therein.

His next traverse was back again into the country to his Mother, and there he fell to his old trade , and frequented his old haunts, consumed his money in tipling , and then ran on score *per force* ; in his drink he used to be so quarrellsome as (few unlesse as mad as himself) durst keep him company ;

company ; his chief weapon in which he delighted and at which he fought several times with *Tinkers, Pedlars, and the like*, (who most an end go armed therewith) was a *Quarterstaff*; in which he was so skilful, that seldome did any overmatch him. A boysterous discipline and *Rudiment* of his martial skill and valour, which with so much fiercenesse he manifested afterward in the ensuing War.

These and the like strange, wild, and dishonest actions, made him every where a shame or a terrour, insomuch that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon* and other places, when they saw him a coming would use to cry out to one another, *Here comes young Cromwell, shut up your Dores*, for he made it no *Punctilio* to invite his Roysters to a Barrell of Drink, and give it them at the charge of his Host, and in satisfaction thereof either beat him, or break his Windows, if he offered any shew, or gave any look or Sign of refusal or discontent.

His Lustful wantonnesses were not lesse predominant than the other unruly appetites of his mind, that there might no vice be wanting to make his Life a *Systeme* of iniquity; the publique, open and more ingenuous *vilenesses* of his Youth, becoming the several dangerous and cruell Villanies of his Old Age, it being now his rude custome, to seise upon all Women he met in his way on the road, and perforce ravish a kiss, for some lower satisfaction from them; and if any

resistance were made by their Company ; then to vindicate and allay this violence and heat of his blood, with the letting out of theirs, whose defence of their Friends Honour , and Chastity , innocently ingaged them. And the same riots was he guilty of against any who would not give him the way ; so that he was a *Rebell* in Manners , long before he was a *Belial* in Policy.

I am loth to be too large in such particulars, which may render me suspect of belying him, out of prejudice or revenge ; but I have heard it confirmed so often from knowing persons , and the stories made use of by his party who did thereby magnify his Conversion , making him thus dear and precious unto God , that I was obliged to mention them , partly as due to this Memoir of him, which pretends to an exact Biography , as well in the minute and small beginnings , as in the grand and most important Events of his Life ; and partly to set him as a remarque against all Satanical delusions of Instantaneous Sanctity, with which yet at this very day the World is bewitched though they have seen in him the Tragical , even Diabolical effects of his Religious Austerity.

Onely one thing I may not omit : by these lewd actions he had so aliened the affections of his Uncle and Godfather Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, that he could not endure the sight of him, having in his own presence in the great Hall of his House, where he magnificently treated King *James* at his assumption to the Crown of *England* , in a
Christmas

Christmas time, (which was alwayes highly observed by him by Feasting, and keeping open-house) played this unhandsome and unseemly trick or frolick; with the Relation of which the Reader will be pleased to indulge me, because I have seen it racounted by a Worthy and Learned hand.

It was Sir *Oliver's* Custome in that Festival, to entertain in his House a Master of Mis-rule or the Revels, to make mirth for the Guests, and to direct the Dances and the Musick, and generally all manner of sport and Gambols; this fellow, Mr. *Cromwell* having besmeared his own Clothes and hands with Surreverence, accosts in the midst of a frisking Dance, and so grimed him upon every turne, that such a stink was raised, that the Spectators could hardly endure the Room, whereupon the said Master of Mis-rule perceiving the matter, caused him to be laid hold on, and by his Command to be thrown into a Pond adjoyning to the House, and there to be sous'd over head and ears, and rinsed of that filth and pollution sticking to him, which was accordingly executed, Sir *Oliver* suffering his Nephew to undergo the punishment of his unmanerly folly.

By this time and by these wayes, *Oliver* had run himself out of that little Patrimony he had, and brought his Mother to the same near ruine, when taking a sad prospect from the brink of this destruction, of his present desperate condition

tion, a giddy inspiration seized him, and all of a sudden so seemed to change and invert him, that he now became the wonder, who just before was the hissing and scorn of all people. And that this Conversion might seem true and real, he manifested it with the Publican first in the Temple, the Church, which he devoutly and constantly frequented, affecting the Companies and Discourses of Orthodox Divines, no way given to that Schisme of *Non-Conformity*, into which *Oliver* soon after fell, not out of Seduction and Ignorance, but Sedition, and Malice; and Treasonable design.

But this appearance of such a Reformation in him (as he no doubt forecast it) did effectually conduce to his present purpose; for these Reverend Divines, glad of the return of this Prodigal, made it their business to have him welcomed and received with the Fatned Calf, to remove the prejudices that lie upon the narrowness of Christianity; and therefore severally and joyntly they deal with Sir *John Steward* his Uncle (for Sir *Oliver* would by no means hear of him, as being assured and confirmed against him out of some good hints certainly of his own observation) to take him into his favour, and did at last prevail upon him, that he declared him his Heir, and dying soon after, left him an Estate of Four or five hundred pounds a year; which being got and obtained by so impious a practise, a kind of inverted *Symony*, to purchase Lands

Lands by Counterfeit Gifts and Graces, could not escape the canker of Sacriledge; but in few years mouldered away peece-meal, nothing at all remaining thereof but a thatcht House, with some Lands of Forty or fifty pounds a year, in a Town called *Wells*, within four miles of *Wisbich* in the Isle of *Ely*.

In the *Interim* of this Estate, having served himself of those Venerable Divines, he fell in with some of the preciser sort; began to shew himself at Lectures, to entertain such Preachers at his House, to Countenance that Way, and be very Zealous in all meetings of such People, which then began to be frequent and numerous; and to Exercise with them by praying and the like; to estrange himself from those his benefactors, and at last to appear a publique dissenter from the Discipline of the Church of *England*. He had Matched a little before upon the account of this Estate in reversion, with a Kinswoman of Mr. *Hambdens*, and Mr. *Goodwins* of *Buckinghamshire*, by Name *Elizabeth*, Daughter of one Sir *Bowcher*, whom he trained up and made the waiting Woman of his Providences, and Lady-rampant of his succesfull greatnesse, which she personated afterwards as Imperiously as himself; so did the *Incubus* of his bed make her partaker too, in the pleasures of the *Throne*. Those Men eminent for Puritanisme together with their Preachers, set him up as the prime man of his County, for Religion, Integrity, and true Godlinesse.

But

But his Estate still decaying, he betook himself at last to a Farme, being parcell of the Royalty of St. Ives, where he intended to Husband it, and try what could be done by endeavour, since nothing succeeded (as yet) by Design, and accordingly took Servants, and bought him all Utensils and Materials as Ploughs, Carts, &c. and the better to prosper his own and his mens Labour, every Morning before they stirred out, the Family was called together to Prayers, at which exercise very often, they continued so long, that it was Nine of the Clock in the morning before they began their work; which awkward beginning of their Labour sorted with a very sorry Issue; for the effects of those prayers was, that the Hinds and Plowmen seeing this zeal of their Master, which dispensed with the profitable and most Commodious part of the Day for their labour, thought they might borrow the other part of it for their pleasure, and therefore they commonly went to the Plough with a pack of Cards in their pockets, and having turned up two or three Furrows, set themselves down to game till dinner time; when they returned to the second part of their Devotion, and measured out a good part of the afternoon with dinner and a repetition of some Market Lecture that had been preached the day before; and that little work that was done, was done so negligently and by halves, that scarce half a Crop ever reared it self upon his Grounds, so that he was (after five years time)

time) glad to abandon it and get a friend of his to be the Tenant for the remainder of his time.

During his continuance here , he was grown (that is, he pretended to be) so just , and of so scrupulous a Conscience , that having some years before won thirty pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play , meeting him accidentally , he desired him to come home with him and to receive his money , telling him , that he had got it of him by indirect and unlawful means , and that it would be a sin in him to detain it any longer ; and did really pay the Gentleman the said thirty pound back again.

Now was he therefore thinking of transporting himself and his Family into *New England* , a receptacle of the *Puritans* who flocked thither a main , for liberty of Conscience : But he indeed , for that his purse and credit were so exhausted that he could no longer stay here , which resolution he had taken up before the Estate of his Uncle fell to him , and was put aside it , by the amplitude of that Fortune to maintain him here : with this Estate of his Uncle *Stewards* , being again set up in the World , and assisted with his borrowed stock of Sanctity , He was look'd upon as a rising person , the Voyage for *New England* , (the desperate Counsel of his necessity) abandoned , and the port and state of his Family resumed to such a conspicuous Grandeur , that rendred him a Candidate for the ensuing Parliament , and supplied him before with the Ability of disbursing

500 l.

500 *l.* upon account of *Irish* Adventures towards the settling a plantation in *Ulster*, in that Kingdome. Yet was this the very last remains of that accessional Inheritance, He being forced to borrow money in Town here very precariously and by the mediation of friends, though for no greater sums then Ten pounds, (nay formerly ten shillings were acceptable) at several times which he received with this inducing Expression, That though sometime he had made no conscience of repaying any money, yet he would punctually now keep his word, which indeed he did justly observe; and this an eminent Citizen his Friend and School-fellow hath often declared. The last summe he borrowed being very anxiously besought and intreated, as rising to a 100 *l.* which upon his growing Greatnesse was pleased him, and most abusefully employed in hyring Wagons for the Earl of *Essex's* Army, then advancing against the King. To this constant and insuperable indigency and ebbe of Fortune was he kept and decreed, to the brink of our Troubles, that his ruines and private misery might the more industriously force him to the reparation of them, by the publique calamities, and then carry him to the mixt Affluence and Excesses of wealth and State Usurpation.

Not did he omit any other duty or civility, or Office of love to any, especially to those of the Household, as they then termed the people of the Separation; insomuch that he had served him-
self

self into the affections of a great many well-meaning people, whose suffrages he obtained against his use for them in the long Parliament.

He was a great stickler likewise against ship-money, in which danger his great friend and patron Mr. *Hambden* was so far embarked: nor was he better affected to the *Scotch* War, then growing on, as he to his hazard discovered himself to some Chief Commanders of the *English* Army, who in their march against the *Scots*, quartered at his House; which Discourses drawing suspicion upon him made him the more popular in those parts who were generally infected with Puritanisme. +

About the same time one Mr. *Bernards* coming to be Recorder of the Town of *Huntingdon*, some difference about precedency of place happened between them, *Oliver's* Spirit being too high to yeild to any person in that town, where his Family had continued of the best rank some years together, and therefore to avoid the Cession of his Honour to another, he withdrew himself thence just before the summoning of the Long Parliament, and took a dwelling in *Cambridge*; where upon the Election of Burgeses, by the procurement and means of Mr. *Hambden*, he was chose Burgesse for that place, and so returned.

Having now attained his desire and aims which was to help to blow up those Coals of dissension and rage, which had kindled in the breast of his

his malecontent party so long, and now were like to have free vent to the setting the kingdoms into a Conflagration; like a right incendiary, where he found any grievance complained of, he would make himself a party concerned in it; Enquire into the number and strength of the Faction that managed the Complaint, proffer his and his friends assistance, encourage them to clamour against the male-administration, and generally set a foot those mischeivous petitions, which were brought thick and threefold to the Parliament, till his Faction had so exasperated the King against them, that there seemed no possibility of reconciling them, making even all the Kings most earnest endeavours for an accommodation, arguments of refusing it. And though at first he was none of the principal of the Cabal, being taken in and tutor'd by Mr. *Pym* and *Hambden*, (as finding him of a bold and undertaking Spirit of what mischief soever was propounded to him) yet was he notably and highly instrumental and subservient to the Conspiracy, and at last arose to such a knowledge and capacity of the mystery, that he scorn'd their puny rudiments, when with a deeper *Athiesme* he set up for himself.

The determinate time was now come for which the cabal of the *Paritan* had so long laboured, and that none of those things which had been so direfully Prophefied of their Schisme (if it ever should attain any power or prevalence) might want, or rather not exceed belief;

The

The whole Kingdome of a suddain, as if some Magical Charme had transform'd the State and shape of it, seemed rather a Scene or Stage of Wild and brutall Creatures, than a Governed or civil Community. But because this particular hath been so largely treated off and is yet fresh in memory and will hardly ever be forgotten, it will not be much material to urge it further, unlesse to the maintainance of this Maxime; That the Uproars and Rebellions of Subjects upon what pretence soever, do alwayes end in the greatest Tyrannies and turn to their most unsufferable and ignominious miseries, and that their Darling *Demagogues*, whom with applauses and Arms they have shouldred up, and have reared and exalted above the reach of the Law, make it no nicety afterwards to trample upon the Necks of their raisers; and to swim in their Blood, which itching swell'd their ambition to the Throne.

Nor did the *Volge* know when, or could their *Boutefeu*s tell where to cease, what Issue would happen of these their troubles; Rash and blind Furies that made way to the unobserved advancement of this private Male-content, who like *Marinus* from his lurking holes in the Fens of *Minturna* after the defeat of his fortunes, crept into the Supreme Power, and died his purple with a more indelible tincture of Noble and *Plebejan* blood.

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and quarrelling pretences of the Parliament proving hopelesse of reconcilement or accommodation by the artifices of a Faction, wherein *Mr. Pym, Hamblen*; and other *Puny's* with *Cromwell*, mainly busied themselves; and the just Judgement of God giving us up, our Peace, Prosperity and Plenty to the Calamity of a most unnatural War, the long desired occasion and expectation of those who had lodg'd their private hopes in the Common Ruine, did most gladly salute the Designs of *Oliver*, who having spent the utimost farthing of his Estate, and secured from an Imprisonment by his priviledge as a Member, was one of the first of those adventurous Knights that mounted the *Good Cause* behind them, and so took the Feild, which now Ploughed with Swords and Spears, and watered with Blood, answered its long denyed increase, and from a lucklesse Pesant made him a fortunate Pedant Prince.

For *Enyo* no sooner sounded her Trumpets under the Earl of *Essex's* Banners then entitled *Generallissimo* for th^e King and Parliament, but *Cromwell* offered him his Service, and was thereupon honoured with a Commission of Captain of Horse, which to raise, he returned to his own County of *Huntingdon*, where among the Zealots he was never had in greater Estimation. He was likewise named a Commissioner in the Ordinance for the *Militia* for that and the neighbouring Shires then entering into an Association

ciation against the King, the Ground worke and eminent endeavour of this great Conspirator, in pursuance of that rebellious Project of his party at *Westminster*; following herein the practice of all Ringleaders, who do first collect rabbles, and engage and assure places of retreat and fastnesse to all Events, though herein he practiced the more difficult and unprecedented combination of a people, for Wealth, and Sobriety, and Civility, and judgement (for a great part most contrary to his Designs) little to be suspected of taking part with him. But it so luckily evened to him, that by his lopping off, as it were, this Limb of the Kingdome, and depriving the King thereby of any assistance thence, and of the convenience of the ports of those Eastern Counties for any forraign supplies, one *Canton* of the Kingdome was as planet struck in point of Allegiance, and not only a Member,

--- *Mancum & inutile dextra Pers.*

but of a very sinister consequence to the Royal Cause, the Gangreen thereof spreading and diffusing it self through the whole Masse of the Nation, by feeding the Humourous rage of the War through the whole distemper thereof, till it finally consumed all; this being the abundant Magazine of Men and Hories for the Parliament Service.

This therefore was *Cromwell's* first Province or Superintendency, wherein he exercised the original Office of a Major General, when as yet

he sounde no more then a Captain, being the chief Committee-man of the Association, making himself most notably eminent by his activity and zealous industry in promoting the good Cause, and levying and listing of Forces, and Disciplining them, the skill whereof he had presently learned, from an exact observation of some veterane commanders, *viz.* Coll. *Dolbier*, whom he had by great sums of advance money, and as extraordinary pay allured to his side.

The grosse of those Troops he raised here and sent from this Seminary to the Camp and School of Action, were such, whose dull Spirits were to be beaten into the knowledge of Arms, and like the *Turks* *Asapi* were on purpose sent thither to blunt the weapons of the Kings generous Cavalry, on purpose to beget in them a relash and contemptuous neglect, of so base and despicable an enemy; that such their regardlesse confidence might conclude their ruine. He himself was all the while continued by especial Order of Parliament in this Employment like an *Independent* Commander to have an Eye upon any Attempts that might be made thereabouts, and as a *pure* and precise reserve to the mix'd multitude, that then from the equal motives of pay and zealotry rush't into the War.

And therefore *Oliver*, understanding how miserably the Cavalry freshmen of his party were worsted at every Encounter, and well knowing the nature of the quarrell; (which was pretended

tended for Religion) resolved and advised, that there were no men so likely to oppose the conquering Gallantry of those Gentlemen on the Kings side, then such who were or should be engaged upon account of Conscience and Zeal which would Spirit them with the same magnanimous Fortitude, and make them also to endure the difficulties and hardships of the War, with a more pertinacious Constancy, as having bodies better able, and minds more finely sublimed upon that score *pro aris & focus* than the mix'd and most rascally Herd of loose and vicious people.

Against the dangerous evil of this Association, the King directed his Commission of Array, which was first put in execution in *Hartfordshire*, by Sir *Henry Conisby* High Sheriff of that County, who proclaimed it at *St. Albans*, and intended to raise the County to the Kings Assistance, but by the vigilance of *Oliver Cromwell*, the Design was prevented; for by that time the Members at *Westminster* had notice of Sir *Henry's* Loyal endeavour, *Cromwell* with a party of horse had surprized and seized that party almost in the very instant of their appearance, and sent Sir *Henry* and some other prime Gentlemen engaged with him, Prisoners to *London*, to the great satisfaction and liking of the Parliament Grantees, who were at first agast at an attempt made for the King so neer their own Doors: and thereupon this their Commander was ordered the

Thanks of the House, and from thence forward look'd upon as an eminent person, and a Champion of the Cause, which now jeopard'd it in the field, whence the towardly settlement of these parts, with-held *Cromwell* in this Province, which like a peice of the former Heptarchy he himself ruled and governed absolutely and *pro imperio*.

His next peice of Service was of the like nature, and of the same evil Consequence to the King. For divers Gentlemen of the County of *Suffolk* (another of the associated Counties) resenting this Curb upon their Allegiance, and the sawcy Edicts and Commands of the Committees, which were made up of the meanest of the Gentry, and Burgeslies of the Towns, designed together to free themselves and their Country from the yoake of these new Lords, the chief of these Gentlemen were Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edw. Barker*, &c. who having in order to their Conjunction, rendezvouzed at *Lowerstoft* in that County, were by the preventing diligence of *Cromwell*, seized and secured, and thereby such a Break-neck given to any future Royal undertakings in those parts (the rendition of *Lyn Regis* which then held for the King, soon after following this defeat and disappointment) that throughout the whole course of the War there happened not any the least Commotion in favour of His Majesties Arms, either by supply, assistance, or diversion.

Things

Things being thus quieted thereabouts and disposed to the Interest of the *Juncto*, there remained after the military part, a Scholastical labour for this Parliamentary *Hercules*, the zealous cleansing of the University of *Cambridge*, the Parent of this Viper, who just before his infectious production into the main Army, (whether he was now designed) did miserably *exenterate* her, leaving her a sad and doleful Skeleton, deprived of so many learned and religious persons, whose only charge was, that they adhered to the Dictates of their Conscience, and the Obligations of those Oaths, which just Authority had enjoined, against the novel and illegal Commands and Covenants, forcibly imposed and obtruded on them. In this destructive work, his module and method of Ambition, *Cromwell* was mainly and chiefly active, as also against the Orthodox and Protestant Ministry, and their Churches, defacing all the Ornaments and Beauty thereof, leaving them the ruinous Spectacle of his Reformation.

And from this Employment now finished he was Commissioned Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Manchester*, who had the separate command in a distinct Supremacy of these associated Counties, and was designed to march Northwards with those Forces and joyn with the *Scots* newly entred *England*, and the Lord *Fairfax*, against the Marquis of *Newcastle*, who was General for the King in those parts, and yet ballanced the

Fortune of War against that potent *Scotch* Invasion; but upon the conjuncture and addition of the Earl of *Manschester's* fresh and well disciplined and armed forces, the said Marquis was constrained to quit the field, and distribute his Army into the Garrisons, he himself shutting up the best part of it in the City of *York*, which the Confederates presently besieged, and made several venturous attempts, wherein *Cromwell* was none of the backwardest, though always repulsed with losse and considerable slaughter.

The importance of this place, and juncture of time, which either won or lost the North to the King (who had newly had great successe in the West by the defeating of the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestithiel* in *Cornwall*) caused him to send away Prince *Rupert* as *Generalissimo*, with a very potent Army to raise that Siege, and fight the Enemy if he found occasion. The Prince accordingly advanced, and upon his approach the Confederates drew off from their League, affording the Garrison liberty to joyn with their friends, when it was resolved by the Prince, without any delay to give Battel; though the Marquis knowing what hazzard the Kings Interest, and his own, and all the Loyal parties Estates would thereby be put to, did very much diswade the suddenesse of the Encounter, which notwithstanding ensued on the Evening of the same day *July 2*. On *Marston-Moor* within Three miles of *York*, and lasted till Night.

It

It will be tedious and beside our purpose to relate the whole order and manner of the Battell, further then this, that the *Scots* and my Lord *Fairfaxes* Forces were totally routed and perished some miles out of the field, and the day given for lost, when *Cromwell* with his associated Horse most of them Curassiers in the left wing, seeing this discomfiture, fell on with great resolution and courage, and worsted the Prince and his reserves, and with the same fury fell upon the Marquisses foot, whose Regiment of *White-Coats*, and therefore called his Lambs, yet stood and could not be broken, till the field being almost cleared, the Parliaments Infantry came up, and then both horse and foot charged and broke them; *Cromwell* here made a very great Slaughter and Carnage, especially in the rout and pursuit, purposely to make his name terrible, this being his first and grand appearance, gaining here the Title of *Ironsides*, from the impenetrable strength of his Troops, which could by no means be broken or divided.

The successe of this day made him indeed highly famous, and his Lawrells most verdant and flourishing, the Victory being principally ascribed to his courage and conduct. His Cunctation and temperate delay were highly magnified; and then his Resolution in the desperation of the Event extolled the firmnesse and constant equality of his mind, when intrepidly and fixedly he beheld the overthrow of the grosse of their Army,

Army, and thereby animated his Troops to the more vigorous recovery of the day, now that the adverse fury was spent in the chase of their Fellows the *Scots*, whom *Cromwell* ever afterwards though in Covenant with them, most disdainfully despised, but not only for this reason.

The Credit of this Atchievement was industriously cryed up at *Westminster*, and all the Grandezza's of Scriptural Ovation fitted and accommodated thereto; He himself with the same conquering Troops, as yet in the same quality under the Earl of *Manchester*, was remanded from the North to oppose the King, then returning victorious out of the West; and because the Earl of *Essex* had hitherto been unfortunate, therefore this lucky Cheifstain was added as his better Star, at the second Battel of *Newberry*, within four Months after *Marston Moor*; and here again the Fates favoured him, though not with a complete Victory, yet on that side where he fought with a part of one, and so much as endangered the person of the King, if the noble and stout Earl of *Cleveland* had not hazardously interposed, and bore off the pursuit.

This indifference of Fortune begot very great differences among the Parliament Commanders, one Taxing the other of Neglect, Treachery, or Cowardize, and by what means it could come to passe that nothing was yet effected against the King, whom in the beginning of the War they had thought to have swallowed up presently. Not
were

were the divisions lesse at home then in the camp, for now the younger Brother of the Rebellion, the Independant Faction began to appear; a preciser and severer sort of Zealots, who thought *Essex* and his Army not righteous enough, nor fit intruments, in whose hands the work of Reformation should ever be blessed to an attainment, and that therefore it was fit the Army should be purged of such Officers, or the Cause would never prosper. To the same purpose *Oliver* was tampering with his *Myrmidons*, frequently bewailing the want of Faith and Grace in the heart of the Soldiery, which alone retarded the desired Conclusion, that the great men of the Army minded themselves more then God or his people, and that purposely they protracted the war, not sparing to insinuate his own General the Earl of *Manchester* of the same prevarications, aggravating the affront he received before *Dennington-Castle*, and some other later miscarriages, which coming to the Ear of the said Earl, who rightly guessed the ambitious Drift of his Lieut. General. He caused a Charge and impeachment to be drawn up against him for some misdemeanors in the Army, as stirring up of Mutiny, &c. and delivered it to the Lords, to whose Bar *Cromwell* was summoned, but he refused their Jurisdiction, pleading his priviledge as a member of the House of Commons, who alone had Cognizance of him: and to be even with the Earl recriminated him in the same manner to the House of Commons.

mons, but both these accusations stuck upon the file without any prosecution on either side, either party as yet afraid of the other, and distrustful of their plots, not having yet attained the absolute power from the King, which was the only subject of the Quarrel. So soon did these twins of the Usurpation struggle in the wombe of their Ambition, and though *Presbytery* was midwived first, yet *Independency* carryed away the Blessing or rather the Curse of their prosperous Violence.

For the *Independents* had insinuated such plausible Expedients for the redresse of this evil Management of the Army, and by their asterer Piety (which *Oliver* most devoutly personated, being frequent in praying and preaching in his Quarters) had conciliated such an esteem of their Counsels, which were absolute Intrigues to the contrary Faction, that a Resolution was taken to module the Army, and appoint a new General; and in this Consultation great part of the Winter 1644. was taken up, the rest was spent in a seeming tendency to Peace, by a Treaty held at *Uxbridge*, which Affair concerned *Cromwell* no further then thus, that it showed how eminent and great a man he was taken to be, being named in the Parliaments Demands and Propositions, for one of the standing Commissioners, to vvhose trust and exercise the *Militia* of the Kingdome (upon Agreement) should be committed.

While

While these and the like Articles were in vain debating, the prosecution of the War was effectually intended, and the new module so far advanced, that an Ordinance passed the two Houses, wherein it was forbidden any Member of either House to have any Command in the Army or Garrisons, and the time limited to forty dayes from the publishing the said Ordinance. By this fair and impartial dealing (as they called it) the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Stamford*, and *Denbigh*; Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and others were lay'd aside, only Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, was respited for a while longer, because of his present usefulness in that unsettled Condition of the Army, and because he had been of an unexampled successe and Conduct: In the place of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made Generall, and he Issued out Commissions to such whom the *Independents* favoured, most of the supreme Officers being discarded, and entitled the Reformadoes, and left a begging their pay, and their Inferiour ones substituted in their places. Among the rest of these New blades, *Ireton* was raised to be Commissary General of the Horse, *Cromwell's* second, who had newly married one of his Daughters, and was as neer in brain to him as in blood.

This continuance of *Cromwell* in his Command after all the other Members of Parliament were laid aside at last upon the marching of the Army in the

the beginning of the Year 1645. styled him Lieutenant General ; a little before which he had doctinated his Regiment in the new mode of Addresses to the Parliament , and to the General, setting forth their acquiescences and gladnesse in this frame and module of the Army , and that they were ready to lay down their lives in prosecution of the good Cause so far advanced : and this Arche-type was soon after followed by every Regiment and Garrison , whereunto none but the Creatures and Confidents of *Independency* were now admitted.

For from the first Head-quarters of this Army, *Cromwell* (having newly come out of the West, and tendred his Service to the General if the Parliament should think fit , but intimating his sorrow that he feared he should not have the Honour to wait upon him (when at the very instant came down another dispensation) was sent with a flying party of Horse (by his party's prevalency in the House for forty dayes longer) to intercept a Convoy of Horse which was the Queens Regiment, the Earl of *Northampton's*, and Collonel *Palmer's*, with some other Troops, coming to *Oxford* to bring off the King with his Train of Artillery , who made such haste, that at *Islip* Bridge he surprized and routed them, took four hundred Horse and two hundred Prisoners with the Queens Standard , and continuing his good speed having got intelligence of a Party of three hundred and fifty Foot under

Sir *William Vaughan*, who were marching towards *Radcot-Bridge*, he pursued them and took the said Sir *William*, Lieutenant Collonel *Liston*, and two hundred more prisoners, and immediately summoned *Blechingdon-House* not far distant from the place, whither some Ladies were newly come to give a visit to Coll. *Windebank's* (the Governour's) Bride, who being affrighted with the suddenesse of the danger, never left importuning the unfortunate Gentleman till he rendred the Garrison, though *Cromwell* for want of Foot, could never have forced him out, making use of this Stratagem by raising a Cry of, *Fall on Foot, fall on*; for this surrender, upon his coming to *Oxford*, by Sentence of a Council of War he was shot to death, leaving his Widdow to blast with her sighs and tears, *Cromwell's* Lawrels, who with this envious Triumph returned to his General. And this first happy Exploit done by him in the beginning of the Expedition, was taken and published for a good Omen of his future Service, and therefore the Prudence of the Parliament was much commended in continuing him in Command, who was so hopeful an Instrument of carrying on the remaining work through so many difficulties, which had so long, and yet seemed so insuperably to impede it. Thus did his Faction and Partisans prepare and sublime him to his succeeding Enterprises and Designs after the expiration of the War.

To

To enhance this reputation and to secure his Continuance in the Army, he next resolved upon a gallanter, and more hazardous Attempt, the reducing of *Farrington* house, which had been an impregnable and most advantageous Garrison for the King, the Governour, was *Sir George Lisle*, a person of an invincible Spirit, and eminent throughout the War; to the better effect of this Design, he borrowed 600 foot of *M. G. Brown*, from *Abingdon*, and with them fell presently to storming, but was notably repulsed, losing 50 men, without any successe at all, and before he could get off was attacked by a party of General *Goring's* Horse, commanded by himself then newly come out of the West from *Taunton* Seige, who being as vigilant and valourous a Commander as himself, gave *Cromwell* the first brush he received in the War, taking three Colours and Major *Bethel* prisoner, and so returned to his former Leaguer at *Taunton*.

In the mean while, General *Fairfax* by Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, who ordered the Conduct of the War, was advancing into the West for the relief of the said Town of *Taunton*, and because the King was yet at *Oxford* preparing to take the Field, *Cromwell* was left behind in the same parts, where now he quartered with Major General *Brown* to attend the Kings motion, and to impede his Conjunctions with the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, then coming with a
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Compleat Body of Horse out of *Worcestershire*, but His Majesty had equipped so gallant an Army, that *Cromwell* durst not venture to fight him or retard his march any whither, so that *Fairfax* was presently recalled and ordered to sit down before *Oxford*, to reduce the King to the care of that place, and upon advantages to fight him: when News came that the King having joyned with the Princes, and relieved *Chester* besieged by Sir *William Brereton*, was now returning and bending his March towards the Associate Counties, the heart and untouch'd strength of the Parliament Cause, and therefore *Cromwell* was immediately dispatch'd into the Isle of *Ely*, with three Troops, to secure that against any Invasion, it being as the Bulwark or Fortresse of the rest. But the King diverting from that course, came and sat down before *Leicester*, and after summons storm'd and took it, which put the Parliament into such a fright, that they commanded *Fairfax* to rise from *Oxford*, and presently find out the King and fight him, who was now (as he himself writ to the Queen) in a better and more successful condition then any time since the War. This Order *Fairfax* (having never sent in a summons to the City, as forejudging he should rise without it disgracefully) readily obeyed but withall requested them that they would forthwith dispatch away *Cromwell* from the Isle of *Ely*, to command the Horse, extolling his Experience and Success in that Service.

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Accor-

Accordingly *Cromwell* reinforced and recruited with some Troops of the Association, returned to the Army then marching to *Northampton*, where the General was informed that the King lay about *Daventry*, quartering his Foot and Carriages upon *Borough-hill*, as if he intended to fight upon that ground if they should advance, but he stayed only till the 12⁰⁰ Horse which he had sent to carry the Cattle he had taken out of *Leicestershire* and *Northamptonshire*, for the supply of *Oxford*, were returned, intending thence according to advice of his Council of War to march to the relief of *Pomfret Castle* in the North, and to reduce those parts lost to him ever since *Marston Moor*, and so to draw on *Fairfax* after him, and fight him at advantage, which he could not do in these Counties, that were every where Garrisoned by the Parliament forces.

But this Resolution, the quicker Consultation and Opinion of *Cromwell* soon disappointed, for by his advice (now that their Army could expect no other Additions but *Coll. Rossiter*, who was then also in a Days march of them, for *Sir John Gell* was joyned already) *Iretton* was presently dispatcht with a Brigade of Horse to observe the posture of the Kings Army, and if they went upon their March Northwards, to skirmish them in the Rear, and keep them in Action till the whole body could come up and engage; June the 13. *Fairfax* came to *Gilsborough*, within 5 miles of *Borough-hill*, whence the Cavaliers, the 12⁰⁰

Horse

Horse being returned, were marching northwards: and the next night to the wonder and amazement of the King, *Ireton* gave an Alarum to His Own quarters at *Naseby*, whence about a 11. of the Clock the King dislodged and hastned to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* and the Van of the Army was quartered; here a Council of War was presently convened, and by the Kings fatal Opinion concluded, that because there was danger of bringing off the reat of his Army, the Enemy pressing so near and hard upon them, that therefore they should desist from their March further Northwards, and immediately turn back upon the Enemy and give him Battel, relying chiefly upon the valour of the Infantry, now flusht and encouraged with the Plunder and spoil of *Leicester*.

This was put in execution (though the major voyces were for staying till General *Goring* with his forces were come up) and the Kings will obeyed. For very early in the Morning the Scouts brought word that the King was making all hast to the Engagement, being falsly informed that *Fairfax* in fear was retreating to *Northampton*, where-as he had now disposed of *Naseby*-field, &c awaited Him, having *Cromwell* with *Whalley* on his right wing, and *Ireton* on his left, the one opposed to my Lord *Langdale*, and the Northern Horse, and the other to Prince *Rupert*, General of the Cavalry, the King himself being *Generalissimo*. To come to the Event, Prince *Rupert* totally

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routed

routed *Ireton*, who being engaged and driven upon the Kings rightmost foot; was there wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and taken Prisoner, and the Field on that hand cleared; which *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* observing, having not yet stirred from their ground; *Fairfax* with a short Speech encouraged the Troops to the Charge; which was seconded with some devout ejaculations from *Cromwell*, who clapping Spurs to his Horse fell in with *Langdale's* Brigade, and quite charged through three bodies and utterly broke them, nor did he stop till with fine force he had likewise beat that Wing from their ground, without possibility of rallying or recovering it again. In this Action, a Commander of the Kings knowing *Cromwell*, advanced smartly from the Head of his Troops to exchange a Bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountred by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their Pistols being discharged, the Cavalier with a slanting Back-blow of a broad Sword, having cut the Ribband that tyed his Murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting threw up his Headpiece into his Saddle, which *Oliver* hastily catching, as being affrighted with the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day, which proved most highly fortunate on his side, (though the King most magnanimously and expertly managed the fight, exposing himself

to the eminentest perils of the Field) &c. raised him beyond the Arts and reach of Envy or his Enemies of the Presbyterian party, who had so long been heaving at him to cut him off all Military employment, which concluding so pertinently and peremptorily for him in this grand Event, did charm the hatred and prejudice against him, into fear and dread what this arrogance of his fortune Would finally aspire to.

This Battell wholly overthrew the King, who was never after able to make head against the Parliament Forces, but peece-meal lost his Armies, Castles, and Towns; *Fairfax* taking in the remoter *Western* Garrisons, while *Cromwell* was employed nearer to *London*, being sure to have one eye on the Counsellors of the Parliament, as well as the other intent against the King. Among the rest of those places taken by him, as *Winchester*, the *Devizes* and *Langford-house*; *Basing-house*, that had defeated so many Sieges and ruined so many Leagues, was not able to withstand the Fortune of this Victor, but humbled it self to dust and ruine at his first and terrible approach.

The war now almost expired, he began to ruminate on his former Dreams, and to adjust those strange revolutions and unexpected alterations of the times and the Government, to his former Fancy, in which he had so much affiance new, that he became resolutely confirmed, that all those things were brought about merely to fulfill

that Oracle of his Imagination, *That he should be King.* And therefore he thought it a just reverence to his Fate to neglect no advantages, occasions and means which might conduce to the accomplishment of its myserie, and conciliate it's constant affection and favour to him. One thing primarily requisite was the assistance and Counsell of some confident Privado, and to this purpose he had before pitch'd upon *Colt. Arden*, a man of a most profound and deep dissimulation and of a most clean conveyance of any mischievous design, one very well learned, but who had converted it (as Toads do the best nutriment unto the most exquisite poyson) to barbarous and most Horrid Artifices of impiety and Treason; this man *Cromwell* made sure to him first by marriage as above said, and now by a more mutuall endearment, the partnership of the Sovereignty, which they agreed to seize; and from henceforth they never ceased plotting and conspiring, now colluding with this party, then with that, and fomenting divisions still betwixt all, till with these many strange patches of Policy, *Cromwell* made himself a Protectoral Robe, with which he was not many years after solemnly vested.

In the mean time the King in *Oxford* fearing a Seige, and having no better shelter in *England* to secure himself, after he had in vain wooed the Parliament from this his Court to a Treaty and agreement; designed an escape out of their hands, and to that purpose (*Collonel Rainsborough*
and

and other Forces at a distance lying about all the passes of the City) by Coll. *Ashburnham* means, procured a passe from the Generall for the said Coll. *Ashburnham* and his two servants, to Travel from *Oxford* upon some pretence of private businesse of the Collonel, and by verue thereof in a Disguise of a Servant passed thred Guards, and after many traverses delivered himself into the *Scotch* hands then besieging *Newark*. Herein *Cromwell* most cunningly and deceitfully first practiced the Kings ruine, for whereas upon the rendition of that City if the King had been taken in it, a sudden end had been put to the Troubles by some compulure, which would have matted *Cromwell's* plots, not to be acted but by a Stratocracy and an Army; by this means of suffering the King to escape, which might easily have been prevented, the War was no nearer a conclusion then at the beginning, if the *Scots* as was hoped howsoever would have proved honest, and kept their Allegiance & Faith due to such extraordinary confidence and trust reposed in them. Now to carry on their Treason the more irresistibly and indiscoverably, upon a plausible pretence of lessening the charge of the Kingdom, they concluded to put their Partisans in the Parliament (who gaped for the spoil of the Kingdom and would be content with that) to motion a disbanding of some Regiments of the Army, which being a just and necessary work was assented to by many Patriots who understood not the drift of

the Conspiracy, and accordingly Major Generall *Masse* and Coll. *Cook* and their Brigades were ordered to disband, amounting to Two Thousand five hundred Horse, which journey work was put upon Generall *Fairfax*, who at the *Devizes* performed it, giving them six Weeks pay for many Months arrears, divers of the disbanded came from very remote Countries, and had passed sent for *Mesopotamia*, some for *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*. M. G. *Masse* was he whom they aimed at, in this Dismission, as so much an *Effeminate*, and of juster and honest principles then their designs would allow, of a very great interest in the Army also, & very well esteemed and beloved by them, as being of a clear spirit and as valorous as the best of them, and would dare to oppose any rebellious practice whatsoever against the Authority of their Masters. Besides this *Cromwell* had a further reach to the future on the Parliament likewise, first to make hereby a division and beget and stir some all humour in the Army, as if that were the leading case, next to make those Officers that should continue, when they should perceive at whose beck they must stand or fall, more fixedly dependant on him, and then to insill unto them his own Traiterous designs and purposes; and so having the Army entire at his devotion, effect and bring to passe his Royal projections. *Masse* submitted but carried the revenges of this affront and Cabell with him to the Parliament House.

Cromwell

Cromwell upon this Accident was at Westminster, and perceiving by the noise and perplexity the Parliament was in about the King's Election, that it was a brave thing to be a Monarchy, and therefore concluded it very necessary to other his Elements and Points of Policy, to get Possession of it, as of His Majesty, and thereupon his party, the Independent Faction, being so instructed fall violently upon the Scots, and would have run it up to little less than Treason for the Scots to detain the King. To this purpose divers Resolutions and Messages passed, but it appearing in the Conclusion that the Scots drove at a Bargain, Cromwell and his Faction most readily agreed to strike it, and so the King was delivered to the English Commissioners at Newcastle, to be more securely kept, and to be more easily dealt with. Yet that nothing might slip or pass which any way promoted his ambitious purposes, he made use of this agreement of the 200000 to be paid the Scots, by his Agents, to mutiny the Army under General Poyntz, another Presbyterian Commander then at York, upon their Guard against the said Scots, as if the Parliament had no care or respect for them, but that Forraigners should be paid with their money; and then afterwards upon the ceasing that Tumult and military Sedition, to get Poyntz dismissed, as too feeble and negligent in his Command. And not long after died the Earl of Essex, one whom Oliver more feared than any or all the Presbyterian Officers together.

gether, Death officiously removing this great impediment also; so that by this time there was not an Officer left in the Army that did not acknowledge *Cromwell's* Sultanship; the General himself being lulled and bewitched with the *Syrren* Charms of his zealous insinuations.

The *Presbyterian* Party in the Parliament began now to be sensible, whither these devices tended, and therefore to Counterplot this Caball of *Cromwells*, they resolved upon a new disbanding of some (the *Scots* having friendly departed home) and transporting of other Regiments for the service of *Ireland*, for that the necessity of that Kingdome did require the Translation of the war thither; This the *Independents* presently perceived, and gave *Cromwell* timely notice of, who knowing himself to be principally aimed at, caused it by some of his Familiars to be spread about the Souldiery; that the Parliament by the major Vote of some corrupt Members, had voted the disbanding of the Army to cheat them of their Arrears, and then to send them in a necessitous condition into *Ireland*, to be there knock'd on the Head by the Rebels. This presently put the Common Souldiers into such a rage, who always judge by the first appearance, that they flew out into most opprobrious and Treviling Language against the Parliaments; but fury being no present remedy to this evil, *Irenan* his instructed Pupils prescribe a Module never heard of or practised in War before, of a Military Common-
Council,

Council, who should assemble 2 commission Officers, and two private Soldiers out of every Regiment, to consult for the good of the Army, to draw up their grievances and present them to the General, and he to the Parliament, these to be called by the name of Adjutators.

Having thus made sure of the Army, he thought it time now to make sure of the King, whom the Parliaments Commissioners had brought to his Captivity at *Holmby-house*, and therefore Ireson and he having sometime before acquainted themselves with the King in this his restraint, and vowed and protested their readinesse to serve him, to the ensharing the Kings belief, while they con- doled the hard usage and unreasonable carriage of the Parliament towards him, especially in point of Liberty of Conscience, and the Worship of God (his Majesties Chaplains having been obstinately refused him) they judged it no difficult thing to get his person into their Custody and deceive his good nature, with the same semblances of it in themselves, only the manner was not presently resolved by them. For without the Generals consent and command it could not be done in his name, nor might it avowedly be done by the Council of War, for it would be a peremptory and hazardous enterprise, and engage the whole Kingdome about their Ears, but at last it was concluded betwixt them that this surprizal of the King should be fathered on the Council of Adjutators, as the sense and Act of the Army. Thus in

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all these pusses and puzzels of accidents did they extricate themselves by that Mungrell consistory a meer *Chimera* or *Brainfick Idea* of a convention which was conversant only about shadowes and umbrages of things, while *Cromwell* ran away with the substance.

This way being agreed upon, one *Cornet Joyce* a busie pragmaticall person, whom *Cromwell* his Familiar had tutoured in the Method of boldnesse and Rebellion, was privately conferred with about it, and after some familiar compellations hugg'd into the Conspiracy, and immediately dispatch'd away with a party of 1000 Horse on the 4. of June, to *Holmbury*, where he arrived late at Night, but being very importunate to speak with the King, was by his order admitted, to whom he declared his Errand, and being demanded by whose Authority, whether by the Generall or Councell of War, no other answer could be drawn from him, but that it was from the Army, adding that if the King should refuse to go along with him he must carry him away, yet force was not used. The King nevertheless deliberated the whole night, and consulted with the Parliaments Commissioners, what was most adviseable for him to do, though the sway of his judgement inclined him to the Army Custody (from a just resentment of the fellestnesse and Rebellious obstinacy of the Parliament), who had by *Joyce* offered him (as the last and chief Article of *Cromwell* to all sort of ranks and persons) the liberty of Conscience with other specious and dutiful pretences. From

From *Holmby* therefore next morning the King was carried to *Childersly*, then the head quarters of the Army, though the King desired to go to *Newmarker* his own house, as perswading himself in some greater degree of Royalty, then in the *Parliaments* Tuition; but this was at first denyed and a complementary amends made him by the Generall, and more particularly by *Cromwell*, that His Majesty could no where be safer or more regally honoured then in their quarters, which were the only Sanctuary of his person.

This daring presumption of seizing the King, gave light to the World what this *Oliver* would at last appear, though no certain Conclusions could be made, what the mischief did presently signify: It was sufficient to *Cromwell's* design to amuse the World, and let them *guesse* at the danger he had readily prepared beyond any sudden remedy. And therefore he now personates the Kings Interest, professeth himself exceeding sorry to have mistaken the quarrell; intimates and insinuates to the King, that there were a corrupt party (meaning the *Presbyterians*) in Parliament, who alone withstood his Resolution, and that He and all the power and friends he could make, were resolved to assert his Rights, and vindicate them from those unreasonable injuries of the *Juneto*, as he spared not frequently to own the same Honesty to the Kings friends, then admitted to attend Him; particularly He declared to Colonel *John Cromwell* (a Commander in the States Service in *Holland*)

Holland) then in *England*, That he thought the King of *England* was the most injured Prince in the World, and clapping his hand to his Sword in some passion said, Cousin This shall right him to the very great Contentment of that Loyal Subject, whom we shall have further occasion in this Discourse, and from this Passage to mention.

In the mean while the King is at his earnest desire, which *Cromwell* seemed most officiously to study, conveyed to *Newmarket* House, and thither his friends and Chaplains without any restriction admitted, and such a sudden change made in the condition of the King as to his Liberty and Honour, that most of his party were dazeled with the shews of it, and could not foresee the Treason that was hid under those fair Umbrages: Nor could the King himself (so cunningly *Cromwell* carried it) give any true judgement of this his Surprizal; more then that the Examples and rules of all Policy generally resolved him, That the Person of a Prince in whosever hands it remaineth, addeth Strength and Authority to that Party.

The King being thus in *Olivers* hands, as he had declared (upon *Joyces* telling him, that he had the King in Custody) that he had the Parliament then in his Pocket; so his next Main Work was to perform his word; and to this intent he never ceased exasperating the King against the *Presbyterian* Members in Parliament, thereby indisposing the King to any accommodation with them, though

the Terms or Propositions sent his Majesty were so unreasonable that they needed no dissuasion to his Assent: but this *Ambodexter* so invisibly managed both the injustice of the *Juncto*, and the indignation and resentment of the King, that he was look'd upon no otherwise then as a partial Spectator and Wellwisher to the Kings Fortunes.

Nay so far had he proceeded in this Dissimulation and Treachery (the more detestable, by how much the simple confidence of so innocent a Prince was abused and deceived) that he stuck not sundry times voluntarily and of his own accord to assure the King, that if the Parliament failed in their duty, and did not speedily restore him, and settle the Kingdome, the Army should do it without them, and that to that very purpose the newly constituted Council or Court of Adjutators were now proceeding, and that speedily his Majesty should see the effect of his Faithfulness and Allegiance, while he the more indiscernably sought, and most nefariously practised his Ruine.

The *Presbyterians* in Parliament, were hastily alarm'd at these Transactions of *Cromwell*; and therefore (the Army having assumed to themselves by decree of this their Court of Adjutators, a right of Petitioning as *English* Freemen, as being no mercenary Souldiers) resolved as was partly hinted before, to divide the Army and send part of it to *Ireland*, and forthwith to Cashiere *Cromwell* and his Chief Partizans, and to run parallell with

with his designs, to send propositions to the King, at the same time as the Army had hammered out some proposals of more equall and of fairer pretences then theirs, that the King acknowledged the just dealing of the Army, with which satisfaction of the King *Cromwell* seemed very much delighted, assuring His Majesty that more then that now proposed (which yet plainly asserted the Regall and Monarchall right) should in time be brought about, and that he might be confident in him as his most Dutifull and Faithfull Subject.

Thus practiced he with the King by Delusion and Treachery, but against the Parliament he proceeded in a more forcible way, for his party therein had tryed all wayes to overreach the *Presbyterians* with finesse and Artifice, but found them so vigilant and sensible of their proceedings and being also far the Major part of the House, that no issue was to be expected from debates and disputes with them, for a Declaration was now published, forbidding the Souldiers to Petition the Parliament, as being under their pay and command, and for disobedience herunto *Sir Philip Stapleton* and *Mr. Hollis* had drawn their Swords upon one *Major Tuleday*, and committed another, one *Nicholas Tew* to *Newgate* in the month of *May*, and a private resolution had been taken to secure *Cromwell* then in Town, and not suffer him to return to the Army now full of *Rebellious* mutiny against them, which might have put an end to this grand conspiracy, and the mischiefs ensuing

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but *Oliver* having sudden intimation of the design got secretly and hastily out of Town, and upon a Flea-bitten nag without stop or stay arrived at the Rendezvouz at *Triploe Heath*, June the 5. his Horse all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the Shouts of the whole Army, to whom he declared the actions and designs of the Parliament.

And here was made that pernicious and destructive engagement of perpetuating the Army till their desires, that is till *Cromwell's* devices should be attained, and this for his better security he caused to be confirmed at another more generall Rendezvouz, June. the 14. at *New-market*, where he himself was the first man alighting from his Horse at the head of his Regiment and lying upon his Belly that subscribed it, which was in severall Parchment Rolls universally Followed. I must not omit one further remarque, on this occasion one *Edward*, afterwards better known by the name of Collonel *Sexby*, and one *Lazingby*, both of the Council of Adjutators, were ordered by the said Council to attend the Lieut. General *Cromwell*, then quartering near *Colchester* in *Essex*, with a draught of the engagement, every word whereof was privily dictated by himself & *Ireton*, yet at the receipt hereof *Cromwell* very angrily rising up in his bed, demanded how they durst presume to give him any Papers, they replied it was the sence of the Army, and that they were commanded to deliver it; Be you well assured of that saith he in the same rage, and presently there.

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upon read it, & instantly changing his Countenance to a mild and devout aspect, said, *It is a most just thing, God prosper it, I will stand by the Army with is to the utmost of my life and Fortunes*, and so after many familiar Caresses dismissed them, it being his constant custome afterwards during this Intrigue, to take the meanest Souldier by the hand, clap him on the Shoulder, or box him lightly on the Ear, thereby to ingratiate himself into their affections, and it accordingly succeeded, in this bold attempt and enterprize upon the Parliament.

For immediately hereupon an Impeachment is drawn up and presented to, and approved by, this Councill of Adjutators against 11. Members of the House of Commons, the chief of the Presbyterian party, viz. *Sir William Waller, Collonel Massey, Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Dextall Holkar, Collonel Long, Mr. Anthony Nichols, Sir Philip Stapleton, Mr. Glyn, &c.* —

the main of which charge was that they had been the obstructers and prejudicers of several Petitions to the Parliament for redresse of publique greivances, retarded the settlement of the Kingdom, and had shared the Revenue thereof among themselves, and last of all had underhand complied with the King - - - - Imputations of all sorts to make some thing stick, and to catch one parties or others belief of their criminal Suggestions.

This was accordingly with impudence enough presented to the House of Commons, though they

had expressely declared against this unparallel'd violence, and straightways the Army advanceth nearer to *London*, resolving not to desist their march till they were superseded the House, which affront was most abjectly suffered by the Parliament, and the said Members after some frivolous debates, suspended sitting till they had cleared themselves: and now *Cromwell* having thus awed the Parliament and abused the King, was come to a fair prospect of his aspired greatnesse, making good that praesagious saying of his upon the seizing of the King by *Joyce*: there remained now nothing to hinder the facilitating of the residue of his Plot but the City of *London*, and we shall see him cajole and Baffle them worse and more insolently then the Parliament.

But before we mention that we must return to the King now traversing the Countrey with the Army, and shewed to the people in great State, and received and welcomed every where by them with all demonstrations of joyfull Allegiance, and in like manner yet Complemented by *Cromwell*: Thus he progressed from *New-market* to *Royston*, thence by *S. Albans* to *Harfeild*, to *Windsor*, (being carried towards *London* almost in the same Road in which he was driven thence) to *Caversham*, back again to *Maiden-head*, to *Latimer*, *Stoke*, *Oatlands*, *Sion-House*, almost in view and hearing of those Tumults which forced him away; while in the interim, *Oliver* having made a Pique against the Citizens and revenged one Tumult by another

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had made the City Submit and receive the Domineering Army in Triumph through their Streets, with Lawrel and other Ensigns of victory in their hats. With the Army returned those Fugitive Members, that left the Parliament upon the same Tumults, being invited by *Cromwell* to his Sanctuary of Redcoats, while the remaining members had voted the Kings present coming to *London* to treat personally with his two Houses, all which votes being Tumultuously obtained (by instigation of some of *Cromwell's* own sending to encrease the violence) were afterwards vacated after a long struggling in the Parliament as contrary to Priviledge; and the secluded Members, who had resumed their seats, deserted *London* and went some over Sea, others with passes to their own homes in the Country, resigning their ill employed power to *Cromwell*, and his Faction in the Parliament, who abused it ten times more. In Justification of this insolence they published a Declaration wherein they said, that the Parliament had declared that it is no resistance of Magistracy to sile with just principles, and the Law of Nature and Nations, being the same Law upon which they had assisted them, & that the soldiers may lawfully hold the hands of the Generall who will turn his Cannon upon the Army on purpose to destroy them; The Seamen the hands of the Pilot who willfully runs the Ship upon a Rock, as their Brethren the Scotch-men had also argued.

The said Declaration still directing them to the equi-

equitable sense of all Laws and constitutions, as dispensing with the very letter of the same, and being supreme to it, when the safety and preservation of all is concerned, and assured them; That all Authority is fundamentally seated in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons.

But before this great successe, the dubious Expectation thereof, had caused *Cromwell* to stagger now and then at his first resolutions, (which if prosperous would at all times help themselves and there ultimately he was fixed whatever conditions and promises cross accidents should extort from him) and therefore he was dealing with the King in way of recompence and reward for his Service in his restitution, that he should be made Earl of *Essex*, and a Knight of the Garter, his eldest Son to be of the Bedchamber to the Prince, his Son in Law *Ireton* to be either Lord Deputy or at least Feild Marshall Generall of *Ireland*; and it was reported by *Henry Cromwell*, that then Commanded the Generalls Lifeguard, that the King had put himself upon his Father and Brother *Ireton*, to make his terms for him and restore him to his Crown: which grant of the Kings, caused and produced those proposalls beforementioned to be contrived, but now in the very nick of this Juncture set forth and published, called the Proposals for the settling a just and lawfull peace where in the three first and last particulars the Authority was left as entire in the King as before the rest were some *Caprichio's* of Bienniall

Parliaments and the like Figaries, whose impertinences discredited the important veracity of the other. But this feud betwixt the *Presbyterians* and *Cromwell*, ending so fortunately for him, there being nothing at present to withstand his first and grand intendment, he began to waive his respects to the King and cast off those disguises wherewith he had made himself acceptable to the Kings adherents, and laid aside the King and them.

The King therefore gently reminds *Cromwell* of his promises, repeats to him his Protestations and urgeth the Proposals aforesaid (and not only so but in confidence of the fair meaning of the Army declines a speedier accommodation with the Parliament) but *Cromwell* begins to turn a deaf ear, to deny many things what he had said and promised, to retract from others, pretending the difference of times and circumstances, that they cannot be performed, telling the King moreover that He did mistake and not rightly understand his meaning, and in short that though he would keep his word with His Majesty, that now it was not in his power, for that the Adjutators were grown to such an ungoverned and insolent licentiousnesse, that untill the Discipline of the Army could be recovered, it were in vain to expect any such things as he when he promised really intended.

The King was at this time at *Hampton-Court*, perplexed on the one hand with the obstinacy of the

the Parliament, in their Propositions, being more rigid since the last garbling by the Army; and on the other with the dangerous Positions of the Adjutors and the Levelling party both in Camp and City, in which last *John Lilburn* was Chief of the Faction, who decryed Monarchy and all former forms of Government, having something (which *Ireton* spread by the by as it were among the Souldiery) in projection, on purpose to stave off all manner and means of settlement. This at last came to a Systeme or Consistency and was styled an Agreement of the people, and was now the onely darling of the Army and the Sectaries: being a mixture or miscellany of Politique Notions no way practicable among *English-men*, being a deformation or destruction of all things, but an establishment of nothing a meer temporary expedient, and shift of design; (except always their Arrears, Indemnity and the Period to the Parliament) and this shape *Cromwell* assumes also confessing and acknowledging the excellence, equity and goodnesse of the same the only fault in it was the unseasonableness, for as yet it was not his time and his cue to appear so publicly against the King; and this his Character of it was dress'd out and enlarged with such taking Saint-like language, as the Phanatick rabble might best be surprized, and not suspect any of his own venomous designs to be lurking under the leaf of His holy and sacred pretences. Withall when his Plot against the King vvas ripe for Execution, he caused

a Fast to be published in the Army, (a certain forerunner of mischief with him) where he was as usually observed to howl and cry and bedew his Cheeks with the Tears of Hypocrisie, cruelty, and deceit; and after this mock-duty performed, he and the rest of the Officers pretended to confesse their iniquity and abomination, in declining the Cause of the people, and tampering with the King, and then in the presence of the All-seeing God, acknowledge the way of an Agreement of the People to be the way to peace and freedom.

The King was in the mean while, by the fallacious advice of *Whalley*, and the practises of *Cromwell*, (who had caused frequent rumours to be whispered, of some Assassinate intended by the *Levellers* against his person) frightened from *Hampton-Court*, which place was found to be too near to *London* for fear of a rescue, in a dark and tempestuous night, in *November 1647.* and forced to cast himself into the disloyal hands of *Coll. Hamond*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, and Brother to the most Learned and Reverend *Dr. Hamond*, which consideration *Cromwell* forelaid, would invite the King in his distresse to betake himself thither, where we shall leave him in a most disconsolate Imprisonment; the Votes of *Non Addresses* being not long after procured by *Cromwell's* Menaces to the Parliament, when upon the Debate of them he declared in such like words. *That it was now expected by the good people of the Nation, and the Army, that the*
Parliament

Parliament would come to some Resolution and Settlement, as the Price of all the Blood and Treasure that had been expended in the War, and that they would not now leave them to the expectation of any good from a Man whose heart God had hardened, but if they did, they should be forced to look for their preservation some other way. At the end of this Speech he laid his hand upon his sword by his side, as was the more observed, because formerly in the same place it could not keep him from trembling, when Sir Philip Stapleton a man of spirit and metal baffled him; but Sir Philip and his seconds were now out of Doors. Next to him spoke *Ireton* in the very same sense (being newly chosen a recruit for the Parliament, by their illegal writ of Election) extolling and magnifying the valour, civility, and duty of the Army, concluding with the same threats, that if the Parliament would not settle the Kingdome without the King, then they of necessity must and would.

So that after some Opposition, the said votes passed against any further Addresse to be made to the King, and now *Oliver* thought himself cocksure, and therefore the King, Parliament, and City being in his power, he had no rub left to his Ambition, but those Imps and Spirits of his own raising and conjuring up, the Adjutators and Levellers of the Army, who having conn'd their Lesson of the Agreement with the people, were became most artful and skilful Governours, already

dy, boasting in the Country, (many of which silly people they had induced to their side, upon the accompt of laying all in common, and in a wild Parity) that the Parliament sate only during their pleasure, and till a new Representative then forming, should take upon them the Government; nor did they more dutifully respect and behave themselves to their Officers, whom they counted as peices of the Prerogative Military & therefore decried all Courts and Counsellors of them, which began to separate and act by themselves, without the mixture of their Adjutators.

This exorbitancy and heighth of the Soldiery, was altogether as destructive to *Cromwell*, now he had done his work with them for this time, as any of the other 3 Interests, but desperate diseases must have desperate Cures, for immediately the Headquarters being then at *Ware* Coll. *Eyer* a Leveller was seised and imprisoned, and one *Arnold* a private Soldier shot to death for promoting the former solemn Engagement, and Agreement of the People, and after that He cashiered all such who favoured the same; and to fan and cull out the rest he proceeded to disband 20 out of a Troop, by which the most of that party were totally excluded; the like was done in *London* by the Imprisonment of *Mr. Prince*, and others of the same Faction.

Having for the present still'd that commotion in the Army, the danger of a second war seemed a fresh to threaten the *Juncto* and *Cromwell*, by
reason

reason of their injurious Votes of *Non-Adresse* and therefore to prevent so potent and formidable a Conjunction of all Interests and Parties against him; He now by his Party and Emiffaries, proposeth an accommodation between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, and a way and means whereby they may be so united; at the motion of this in the House of *Commons*, a Gentleman replied, *That if there were any such persons, who had any private Interest different from the publique and under the distinction of parties had prejudiced the Kingdome, he was not fit to be a Member of that House*; Nevertheless it was insisted on that the House would declare and ratifie their Votes of nulling and making void the Votes that passed in the absence of the Speakers that fled into the Army in 1647. and their Engagement of adhering to the Army, which were tacitly confessed to be then unduly procured; so fearful and doubtful was he again of the issue of those new Troubles he foresee would fall out, and therefore would shelter himself and justifie his Actions by the Authority he had so often basted.

The same Artifices he used likewise to the City offering them now upon the like condition of uniting Interests, the freedome of their Lord Maior and Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *John Gayr*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Adams*, and others, and the setting up again their Posts and Chains; but when they (having already treated and engaged with the *Scots*, then in preparation for a March into *England*

land, refused to give ear to any propositions or terms, resenting the base affronts He and the Army had put upon them, He, questioned his Agent *Glaver*, who gave him Commission to make any such Overtures, and in great rage turned him out of his Service.

The danger still increasing, he suffered the Lords as namely the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, Lord *Maynard*, *Willoughby*, &c. whom he had impeached of High Treason after his March into *London*, to be freed from their Imprisonment in the *Tower*, and with them the Maior and Aldermen aforesaid; and as a further satisfaction and submission to the Authority of the Parliament, A Declaration of the Army is published, wherein they bewail their former miscarriages and misdemeanors towards the Parliament, their meddling with the civil power, and that force and violence they had offered to the two Houses, and in Conclusion promise faithfully and dutifully to acquiesce in their Resolutions and Wisdom. With this *Hocus Focuss* deluding the *Presbyterian* party into a kind of stupid neutrality or rather worse, while yet they would by no means comply with the King, untill *Polyphemus* Courtessie appeared in this *Cromwellian* Craft.

The Scots under Duke *Hamilton*, having entered *England*, and divers Insurrections happening in *England* and *Wales*, according as was expected, *Cromwell* was ordered by the Parliament to attend the first of them, which was the *Welsh* and

and Northern Armies (though the *Scots* delayed their March so long till all was neer lost in *England*) and after a short Siege upon the Defeat at *St. Fagons*, which was atcheived in his absence , took in *Tenby-Castle* ; *Pembroke Castle* held out a while longer ; thence he marched for *Lancashire*, having joyned with Major General *Lambert*, who attended the motion of the *Scotch Army*, and at *Preston* , his forces amounting to few more then 9000 Men, whereas the *Scots* were not lesse then 20000 , gave Duke *Hamilton* Battle , and after a very short Dispute , wherein the *English* forces under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made him the greatest Opposition , totally routed the *Scotch Army*, taking all their Artillery , Bag and Baggage and some 9000 prisoners , with the Duke himself in the pursuit Southwards, while he followed the Main of the flying Army Northwards, with a resolution of putting a final end to that bu-
 finesse, and to rid himself of the Fears which from thence had hitherto perplexed him. Upon this his hasty advance, Major General *Monro* who commanded the reserve of 6000 Men to the former Army, and was marching after them , immediately returned to *Berwick* , and so back into *Scotland*. *Berwick* upon *Cromswells* approach rendred it self upon terms, and hindred not his advance to *Edinburgh*, where by the Committee of Estates he was very sumptuously welcomed.

Monro as yet and the Earl of *Lanerick* with him stood to their Arms upon the *Hamilton* account
 in

in the *West of Scotland*, and the Marquess *Argyle* with another party stood for the purer Kirk, which since the Dukes march had recovered its Magistracy and Superiority, and with *Cromwell's* accessiōnall Troops could give Law to the Kingdome: but because *Cromwell* was loth to venture a new War there, so far distant from his main design which the Army successes at home had now matured, and his presence only wanting to accomplish it, he so ordered the matter that a Treaty was procured, by which all parties were to lay down their Arms (a greater assurance to him then if the Kirk had been absolute victor) the *Hamiltonians* to have indemnity, but none of them to be admitted or elected for the next Parliament or Assembly Generall, so that he so absolutely manacled that Nation, that they had no other use of their hands then to hold them up to Heaven at the dolefull murder of their natural Prince, whom by their primitive rebellion they had brought to the Block.

Things thus settled in *Scotland*, he departed thence, having been most highly and magnificently treated by the Grandees of that Kingdome before and at his departure, and complemented by the Kirk as their deliverer, which he regested in as good Scriptural Language, laying his hand on his breast and demurely looking on their *Scotch* screwed faces, and laughing to himself what Idōts he had made of those Politicians at their own sanctified Weapons.

In his way homeward he visited the Seige of *Pomfret*, and was by the Commander in Chief against that place importuned, to see it reduced (it being beleived that his fortune or experience Mastered all things) as he was afterwards at *Scarborough*, which being upon the point of Surrender, he dispenced, for the Honour thereof, to stay at the last place and have it delivered into his hands; and so posted for the head Quarters of the Army then at *St. Albans*, having subdued all the opposition made this Summer 1648, where he vvas welcomed with the highest, gratulations of his late atchievement, especially by the Officers, for as yet the Souldiers knew not what to think of him as to their nev v Agreement of the People, vvhich vvas novv began again and favoured already by *Iverson* so much, as that he had it under consideration, and promised to return it vvith some additions and amendments of his ovvn.

And that proved that accursed Remonstrance of the Army, in vvhich all the former freaks of policy were inserted to make up the number, but the burthen thereof was the Treasonable Contrivance of the Kings Death, and the altering the Government; for first they remonstrated to the Parliament, That all persons of whatsoever quality or condition, not excepting the King, that had been guilty of the blood spilt in the late War, should be brought to justice and condigne punishment; Next, That a day should be set for the summoning the Prince and the Duke of *York*, to appear

appear and clear themselves of such things as should be laid to their charge, and if they did not, then to be declared incapable of succeeding in the Government. Many such there were of the like Batch, but all of them concluded with a most favourable Aspect to the Royal party, whose fines and compositions they pretended to have mitigated, and many more Good Morrows, on purpose to amuse even them too, as they had deceived and outwitted the *Presbyterian*. This pestilent paper *Cromwell* got delivered to the House of Commons by a select number of Officers, just as they had almost concluded with the King by a Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*, to the amazement and fright of all good Christians and Subjects.

And here *Cromwell* terminated and centred all the crooked lines of his most Impious ambition, resolving to stand or fall by this Conclusion, and therefore immediately, (the Army being then advanced to *London* to prosecute this Remonstrance) as he had dispatched Collonel *Ewer* to take the King out of the Custody of *Hammond*, and carry him over to *Hurst-Castle*, a most unhealthful place, so did he upon notice that the Parliament had voted the Kings Concession a ground for a peace and settlement of the Kingdome, command Coll. *Pride*, a fellow who had not wit enough to consider his businesse, to seize upon the avenues and passages to the Parliament House, and exclude above a 140 Members, whose names

were

were given him in a Roll, which unheard of and unparallel'd Violation was back'd and secured by Force of Horse and Foot quartering up and down the City and Suburbs, another lawlesse and forcible Intrusion upon their Charter.

The House being thus purged as they called it; & others besides those that were forcibly seclused; absenting themselves for fear of being engaged and overpowered in those wicked Councells which this Action portended, the remaining *Jurists* of his culling, a great part whereof were Army Officers not amounting in all to 60. passed an Ordinance for Tryal of the King, the manner whereof by a High Court of Justice of his and *Iretons* own forming and Conception, was fully agreed upon, and the King brought from the said *Hurst Castle*, by *Winchester*, *Farnham*, and *Windsor* to *St James's* in order thereunto.

But of this lamentable Tragedy so much hath already been said, that I will not add this super-numerary load to him here, though it were his principal guilt, and to which all his other perpetrations were but as subservient. I will only instance two particulars, relating to this sad and fatal businesse, which discover the Abyffe of this mans Villany.

There was mention made before of Coll. *John Cromwell*; This Gentleman upon the news the States of *Holland* had received of this proceeding against the King, at the instance of Our Sovereign; then Prince of *Wales* residing at the

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Hague) to them, to mediate and interpose in the businesse, was pitcht upon by them as the only fit person, because of his relation to *Cromwell*, (who was look'd upon there as the only Author and Contriver of this mischief) to be employed in a Message to him, with Credential Letters from the said States, whereunto was added a Blank, with the Kings Signet, and another of the Princes, both confirmed by the States, for *Cromwell* to write his own conditions in, if he would now preserve the life of the King.

The Collonel putting some confidence in what *Oliver* formerly had told him, willingly undertook the Errand, and forthwith repaired to *London*, (just before the Kings Martyrdome) and found him out at his house, but so recluse and lockt up in his Chamber, with an order that none should know he was within, that he could not be admitted till he had told his name. After mutual Salutations the Collonel desired a word or two in private, which being granted, he began roundly to tell him, of the flagitiousnesse of the Fact, now almost ready to be committed, and how detestable it sounded abroad, adding that of all men living he never should have imagined that he would have had a hand in it, having protested so much for the King in his hearing. Whereupon *Cromwell* fell to his old shifts, telling him it was not he but the Army, that 'tis true once he did say such words, but times were altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise; that he

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Cromwell here paused, and seemed to ponder with himself, and after a little space said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your Inn, but go not to bed till you hear from me, I will conferre and consider further about the businesse.* The Collonel did so and about one of the Clock (within an evening or two of the murther) a Messenger came to him and told him he might go to Bed and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince, for the Councill of Officers had been seeking God as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that the King must dye.

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upon the adjournment of the High Court of Justice at the Kings request into the Painted Chamber; nor his like usage of Collonel *Ingoldsby*, and holding his hand while he signed that horrid Sentence, and many other particulars of the same Crime) and perfectly discovers how much an Atheist or mocker of God he was in his pretended piety and Devotion.

The very same day appointed for this Murther *Cromwell* and the Officers assembled together, to consider of some means if possible (with security still to the Nation) of saving the Kings life, and many tedious expedients were offered by some not so bloody as the rest, & a speedy Remonstrance to the Parliament proposed, and in the mean while the King should be Respited. *Cromwell* likewise seemed very forward, expressing how glad he should be if such a thing might be effected, for he was not ignorant, he said, what calumny that action would draw upon the Army and themselves in particular, though they did nothing therein but in obedience to the Parliament. But before we (said he) proceed in so weighty a matter, let us seek God to know his mind in it; hereto they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded prayer and continued in it till a Messenger whom he had appointed for that purpose, came rapping at the dore and hastily told them that they need not trouble themselves about the King for the work was done, which being unexpected to many of them, did at present astonish them, while *Cromwel* holding up his hands, declared

declared to them, that it was not the pleasure of God he should live, and therefore he feared they had done ill to tempt Him against his wil or words to that effect.

When the Kings body was removed and Confined, *Cromwell* to satisfy himself of the full and certain consummation of all his practices against his sacred life would needs see him himself, and upon his return thence was heard to say, *That if he had not been a King, he might have lived longer.*

Other passages there were which concern this dolefull subject, both preceding and succeeding it, as namely *Olivers* Conferences with *Hugh Peters* at *Ware*, his feigned letters out of the *North* to applaud this Fact, and extolling the Justice and Courage of the Army, by whose means it was, that the great Cedar of the Forrest was fallen, without any noise, and now the time was coming when we should rejoyce under our own Vines and Fig-trees--- whence this Criminal had his leaves, and we Blood instead of Wine, but of this more then enough.

With much craft and cunning did he now hide his daring ambition, for though it was thought as feasible for him now to have seized the Crown as afterwards, considering that his Usurpation was to be maintained by Arms, yet he well knowing what a Faction there was in the Army of the Levelling principle, ventured not to put his oracular Title to a present Tryal but awayt more promising opportunities.

In the mean while to quarrell these Levellers, and confine the Democratical Regiment or a Free State (so was it now called) to a narrow compasse, and to assume the greatest part of the Government to himself especially the executive power thereof, according as *Ireton* had projected the module soon after *New-market Heath* engagement; a Council of State like the 30 Tyrants of *Athen* was established, which consisted principally of his Creatures, and this was but a forerunner of his single Tyranny, like rayes by a burning Glasse contracted into one Beam; The word being now given out amongst the Officers of the Army; *I hat this Nation must have one prime Magistrate or Ruler over them, and that the Generall hath power to make a Law to bind all the Commons of England.*

These tendencies to Slavery first of all enraged the Levellers, who having promised to themselves a good share of the spoil of the Kingdome, found they were meerly deluded, and that all the engagements and agreements were but so many *Rattles* by which the Army was drawn on to act *Cromwell's* designs, who had on purpose contrived that Council of Adjutators, to engage the masse of the Souldiery in the danger of his Treasonable conspiracy, that knowing themselves in the same predicament with him, they must resolve to stand by him, like a wily Fox who being pursued, will herd himself among Sheep and so avoid the dogs; but all those hazards and necessities being

being pass'd, the Council of Adjutators was abolish'd, the Officers now abominating to suffer the Soldiers to sit Cheek by Jole with them any longer, the Expedition for *Ireland* absolutely concluded on, without satisfaction of Arrears, the Engagement slighted, and the right of Petitioning, which the Army claimed as Freemen, denyed by their Officers, who put them upon impeaching the 11. Members for that very reason; And because a neer-total Defection of the Army followed upon this soon after, the Engine which *Cromwell* had used to subvert the Government, being likely to prove his own Ruine,

--- (*Neo Lex est Justior ulla*
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.)

though the Fates and his Treachery narrowly prevented it, it will be requisite to show you the sense of the Army, upon the present State of the Usurpation in this following Petition.

To his Excellency Thomas Lord
Fairfax, and his Council of
Officers.

May it please your Excellency, and your
Councell of Officers,

WE have lately made our humble Address
unto the peoples Representatives in Par-
liament, concerning some relief to our selves and
the Commonwealth, by way of Petition, the mean-
nest and lowest degree of an Englishmans Freedom
that we know of, and yet the same (to our asto-
nishment) hath much distasted and imbittered di-
vers of our Superiour Officers (in this Council con-
vening) against us, as we perceive, and threat-
en unto death.

We therefore being willing to avoid all occasion
of offence and division, and to clear our selves of
all imputations thereof, that in Justice and Reason
may be convinced against us, desire, that you would
be pleased to consider, that we are English Soldiers,
engaged for the Freedoms of England; and not
outlandish Mercenaries, to butcher the people for
pay, and serve the pernicious ends of ambition and
will in any person under Heaven. That we do not
imagine our selves absolved from the solemn En-
gagement

agement at Newmarket Heath, but to be still obliged before God and the whole world to pursue the just ends of the same; and you may remember the many promises and Declarations to the people upon that account, which like the blood of Abel cries for justice upon the perfidious infringers and perverters thereof in this Army. You may further remember that it hath been a principle by you asserted and avowed, that our being Soldiers hath not deprived us of our Right as Commoners; and to Petition the people in Parliament, we do account in the number of our Birthrights; and you may remember that in the time of the domination of the 11. Members, you complained against their then endeavour to suppress the liberty of the Soldiers petition, as an insufferable infringement of the right of the Army and people; and we hope you did not then condemn it in them, to justify it in your selves: when the power was theirs, it was then condemned; but now it is yours, how comes it to be justified? In the point of Petitioning, we expect at your Encouragement, and not to have manacles and fetters laid upon it: it is not the bare name or shadow thereof will satisfy us, while we are galled of the essence of it. It is a perfect freedom which we desire, not therein to be subjected under the Gradual Negative voices of a Captain, a Colonel, your Excellency, or your Council; to passe the test from one Negative voice to another for its improvement, we account as the most vexatious Labyrinth of shuldome that in this point can be devised,

sed, worse then all oppositions and infringements of the 11 Members; we had rather that in plain terms you would deny us our right of petitioning, and pronounce and proclaim us absolute Slaves and Vassalls to our Officers than secretly to rob us of the right in self. God hath in some measure opened our eyes, that we can see and perceive; and we desire plain dealing, and not to be met half way with smooth expedients, and Mediums facing both ways, with specious and fair pretences, to overtake our sudden apprehensions, and unawares steal upon us, and so be defeated, as too often we have been, to the use and misery of the people, and of us: but The burnt child dreads the fire.

Further we desire you to consider That the strength, the honour and being of the Officer, yea and of this Council (under God) doth consist in the arm of the Soldier. Is it not the Soldier that endureth the heat and burden of the day, and performeth that work whereof the Officer beareth the glory and name? For what is it, the Officer can do without the Soldier? If nothing, why are they ashamed to deny us our right to petition?

We have long waited in silence, even while we perceived any hopes of any real redresse from them. But now finding the Military power in an absolute usurpation of the Civil Jurisdiction, in the place of the Magistrate executing that Authority, by which the sword of war is incroached into the self same hands under one Military head, which we disclaim and abhor, as not having any hand or as-

sent

sent therein at all. And we find a strange and unexpected constitution of a Council of State; Such as neither we or our forefathers were ever acquainted with, intrusted with little lesse then an unlimited power, and with the whole force both of Sea and Land, in which is combined the most pernicious interests of all Tyrannies. And which hath already swallowed up half our Parliament, and we fear to be an expedient to cut off our Parliaments, for ever; for if this Council of State survive the Parliament, how shall we obtain a new Representative, if the Parliament sit but till a new one be ready to take their places, farewell Parliaments, farewell Freedoms.

Further, we find the just and legal way of trial by twelve men of the Neighborhood in criminal cases, miserably subverted in this new constitution of an High Court, a Precedent for aught we know to frame all the Courts of England by, and to which our selves may be as well subjected as our enemies. And considering not one oppression is removed, not one vexation in the Law abated, nor one punctilio of freedom restored, or any fair hopes at all appearing, but oppression heaped upon the back of oppression, double cruelty upon cruelty, we therefore from those many considerations, betook our selves as Englishmen to make our Adresse unto the Parliament, as the proper refuge and authority of the people for our and their Adresse, in which by birth we challenge a right, as also by the price and purchase of our hazard and blood; and our Civil Rights

Rights we cannot yeild up, we shall first rather yeild up our lives.

And thus after the weak measure of our understandings, we judge we have given a rational and full account of the occasion and reason of our Petitioning, and we hope satisfactory to your Excellency and this Councell, humbly praying that you will make a charitable and fair construction thereof.

And we further desire, that you will take special notice of the serious Apprehensions of a part of the People in behalf of the Common-wealth, presented to the House by Lieut. Col. John Lilburn, and divers other Citizens of London, and the Borough of Southwark Feb. 26. now published in Print. To the which with due thankfulness to those our faithful friends the promoters and presenters thereof, we do freely and cheerfully concur, to stand or fall in the just prosecution thereof, as the most absolute Measures to our peace and freedom that hath been produced, and we hope it will produce an happy effect upon this Councell, to prevent the otherwise unavoidable dissolution and division that will ensue upon us all, which to prevent shall be the faithful endeavors of

(Sir)

Your Excellencies most humble

Servants and Soldiers,

Robert Ward. Simon Grant.

Thomas Watson. George Jelles.

William Sawyer.

These

These Petitioners being seized, were tryed at a Councill of War, but for fear of too much exasperating the Army were only sentenced in this manner, Coll. *Baxter* being then President, who delivered judgement in these words,

Gentlemen; for so I think I may without offence call you, for as yet you are Souldiers; but truly you are not long to continue so: For you are guilty of high crimes, as your Letter here by you owned doth manifest, being Scandalous to the Parliament, Councel of State, High Court of Justice, and tending to breed mutinie in the Army; for which you have in an high measure deserved death; but through the great mercy of the Court that is waved, and truly they have waved the Sentence again and again, and now they are come as low as possibly they can: and it being late, I shall declare unto you your several Sentences which are as followeth.

You shall ride with your faces towards the Horse-tails, before the heads of your several Regiments, with your faults written upon your breasts, & your Swords be broken over your heads, and so be cashiered the Army, as not worthy to ride therein; and a Proclamation to be made, that none shall receive you into any Troop, Company, or Garison. And this I would have you look upon as a great mercy of the Court.

Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them, in the Great Palace-yard at Westminster, March 6. to the exasperation of the Army.

Soon

Soon after, all the Army quartering near *London*, rendezvoused at *Ware*, where severall Regiments among whom was *Cromwell's* of Horse, in pursuance of the same Petition and to be known to themselves, wore white in their Hats; *Oliver* had intimation of it, and therefore he appointed two Regiments of Horse from further quarters who were ignorant of this Combination to appear there likewise. Being all drawn up in *Battalia* *Cromwell* with an angry and down look rides round, and of a sudden Commands one of those two Regiments to encompassse a Regiment of Foot, which being done he commanded four men by their names out of the body, and committed them with his own hands to the Marshal, and immediately called a Councill of War, (while the rest of their partakers flunk their White Colours into their Pockets and trembled at this boldnesse of *Cromwell*.) and tryed and condemned them, but by the favour of the Court they were to cast Lots for their Lives, two only to dye, by which means the two Guilty persons and whom *Cromwell* chiefly aimed at, and lusty Fellows also, escaped, but the two other sneaking ignorant Fellows were presently shot to death, upon a green bank by the other two, in the face of the Army.

But yet could not this humour be purged out of the Army, though another Leveller bled for it, one *Lockyer* a Trooper, who for promoting the same engagement and agreement was shot to death at *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and was attended

to his grave like a General Officer, a thousand people of the *Lilburnian* Faction following his Herse all of them wearing Black and Sea-green Ribbons; Colours that denoted a *Storm* was coming, the whole Army being now generally leavened with the same principle & furiously enraged at this Butchery of their fellow Souldiers being avowedly egged on by the said *Lilburn*, and secretly encouraged by the Royal party, who promised them their assistance in case they should need it.

And it was seen when too late by the Souldiery (the Instruments of that Tyranny) that they had borrowed their Libertinism at a dear rate, the price of their Lives; like *Cratanders* they should rule for a while but then become *Victimes* to their short ridiculous Usurpation, while the Revenges of their Rebellion followed their endeavours after those shadowes of their own casting.

The first formidable eruption of it was at *Salisbury*, where Col. *Scroops* Regiment of Horse laid aside their Officers, and with their Colours marched thence, in order to a conjunction with *Harrisons*, *Iretons*, and *Skippons* Regiments, who had confederated (by means of those Adjutors) in the same design: which affair admitting no delay, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* with his own Regiment advanced to them, to *Bagshot*, and so to *Alton*, where they had notice that they were marched to *Abington*, whither (after a tedious march of 40 miles in one day) the General came; and *Cromwell*,

well fell presently to work with his old arts of Treachery, for *Harrissons* Regiment was halting to the Conjunction. His first finesse in order to their reducing, was the offer of a Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutually given, and that done, that neither party should come within 10. miles of one another; whereupon the Levellers marched to *Borford*, and being opposed at a Pass called *Newbridge* over the River, to avoid any quarrel, and hoping the Souldiery there would no doubt joyn with them upon the Treaty, passed a mile lower, and arriving at the Town, relied so much upon the Generals and *Cromwell's* engagements, that most of them had put their Horses to grasse, leaving a *Corps de guard* of some 60. men, the whole party making in all 900. consisting of 12. entire Troops, reputed the best in the Army, and whose defeat would have cost many mens lives, if the Army would have stood against them. But to save that difficulty, while those secure Troops were resting themselves, and their Horses put in the adjoining Meadows, about 12. a clock at night *Coll. Reynolds* fell into their quarters, having notice from some Traytors within of their posture, and presently mastered the guard, not dreaming of such a Camisado, and seized most of the other, then tipling or asleep. Here were taken near 900. Horse, and 400. Prisoners, whereof three only were Executed, one *Thomson* and two more, who died very resolutely; *Cornet Den* expressing his
grief

grief and sorrow, was reprieved at the instant of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were saluted with a Message of Decimation; but that *Cromwell* might ingratiate with the Army; for his sake, and at his instance they were all pardoned, and sent home to their own houses. The great Chieftain of them being pursued as he was marching towards this party, took into *Wellingborough-wood*, where courageously defending himself, he was killed by Carbine shot, refusing to take quarter at such perfidious peoples hands. This Hurly burly being over, and ended like a flash, the General came to *Oxford*, where he was highly treated, and he and *Oliver* made Doctors of the Civil Law.

This proved the utter Suppression of that party, & rendred the Army entirely at his command, without any farther dispute of their Leading, so that they presently submitted to the Lot, which Regiments should be sent to *Ireland* (then almost reduced to the Kings obedience by the M. of *Ormond*) which thus decreed it, viz. 11. Regiments, One of Dragoons under Col. *Abbot*. Of Horse, *Iretons*, *Scroops*, *Hortons*, and *Lamberts*. Of Foot, *Eures*, *Cooks*, *Hewsons*, and *Deans*. And three new ones, viz. *Cromwells*, *Venables*, and *Phayrs*.

Cromwell was ordained Commander in Chief, and tituladoed with the Style of Lord Governour of *Ireland*; while *Fairfax* was left here to attend the Parliament, and passe away his time in the Dotages of his Successe, giving him the Honour of

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pation.

He with a very potent Army was now landed
at *Dublin*. Whereupon a strong Garrison of 2500
Foot and 300 horse, resolved men under the charge
of Sir *Arthur Aston*, was put into *Drogheda*, the
nearest Garrison to the late defeat of the *M. of*
Ormond which *Cromwell* having refreshed his Army
a while at *Dublin* came to besiege. The Town was
stormed resolutely thrice, and as well defended;
Sir *Arthur Aston* being so confident that he advis-
ed the Lord Lieutenant not to precipitate any
thing, for he should hold them play a while; but
in the third assault Collonel *Wall* being unfortu-
nately killed, his dismayd Souldiers listened to the
offer of quarter before they had need of it, and
admitted them upon those terms. *Cromwell* having
notice that the Flower of the *Irish* Army was in his
hands, gave order to put all in Arms to the
Sword, where were killed Sir *Arthur Aston*,
Sir *Edmond Werny*, Collonel *Warren*, Coll.
Dun, *Finglasse*, *Temple*, &c, with 3000 Souldiers
the best in that Kingdome.

He comes next before *Wexford*, which having
refused to accept of a Garrison, now the Enemy
was under their walls was contented to admit of
500 Men under the command of Sir *Edmond Bur-*
ler, and the Lord Lieutenant came also in sight of
the Town, before whose face *Stafford* the Gover-
nour of the Castle basely betrayed it to *Cromwell*,
together with the Town, who there treacherously
murder-

murdered 2000 more. *Rosse* was the next place
whither a Garrison was sent under the command
of *Luke Taaff*, with order (the Town not being
tenable) to render upon Conditions, which
accordingly a breach being made, they did, and
marched away with their Arms. His next attempt
was upon *Duncannon*, but the noble *Wogan* and the
English Cavaliers gave him a foyle; hence he re-
treated to *Rosse* where he made a floating bridge,
that so having a passage to the other side he might
compell *Ormond* either to divide his Army to ob-
serve his motions, or otherwise to get a passage
into *Munster*, where he held intelligence with
several places that would then Revolt; and ac-
cordingly for all my Lord *Taaff* was sent thither
before hand to secure them, yet *Toughall*, *Corke*,
and all the English Towns of *Munster* openly
Revolted, and many of my Lord *Inchiquens* men
allured by Money and Commands in *Cromwell's*
Army, ran over to the Enemy; and his Excel-
lency the L. Lieutenant having lost the opportu-
nity of Fighting *Cromwell* by his dislodging from
Duncannon by night, vvhen the *Irish* vvere cheat-
full and earnest to engage, vvvas never after in a
condition fit to venture a battel. He therefore
passes over his Bridge and so into the County of
Kilkenny facing his Enemy and moving up and
down after him, vvhile his Lieut. G. *Jones* with
parties took in the Castles, and *Carrick* vvvas
vvretchedly betrayed to him by *Martin* that com-
manded there; vvhen *Cromwell* passes his Army

into *Munster* and takes severall Castles by the appearance onely of his Horse, onely at *Kilteran* he received a repulse, but *Ballisannon* was sold to him; *Kilkenny* was taken next, after a stout defence made, the Towns-men complying contrary to the Souldiers knowledge who were driven into the Castle and there conditioned. The next enterprize he went in hand with was to take *Cloonnell*, kept by Major Generall *Hugh Neale*, who behaved himself so well, that the Enemy having lost 2500 Men before it had gone away without it, had it not bin that the Garrison wanted Powder, so that they got over the River to *Waterford* in the night, leaving the Towns-men to make conditions for themselves, which the Enemy not knowing the Souldiers were gone, readily granted; Soon after Colonel *Roch* received a brush from my Lord *Broughill* in the County of *Cork*, vvhhere the Bishop of *Rosse* being taken vvas hanged.

I have thus briefly discoursed of the War in *Ireland*, that I might hasten to the grand event and from the Camp after apother expedition conduct him to the Palace, the main consequence of his Life, vvhich rendred all his other actions so notable and conspicuous.

The *Irish* War thus in a manner ended, and the *Scotch* War ready to Commence, the Committee of Estates there, having concluded vwith the King at *Breda*, and he upon his Voyage to that Kingdom, vvhether all correspondence with the *English* was by Proclamation forbidden, and all manner of Pro-
vision

vision stopt from carrying into *England*, though the *Jurists* at *Westminster* had used all Artifices to keep the *Scots* from closing with him, (who were so far disposed thereto, that they had barbarously murdered the Great Marquis of *Montrose*, a Hero far surpassing *Oliver* in Conduct, and who was untimely and unfortunately taken away from the rescue of his Country). *Cromwell* (like a Fury) was ready at hand to take revenge of that Fact. For having been secretly called for over from *Ireland*, to amuse all Parties (both the *Irish* who trembled at his presence, and made no considerable resistance against him and his Fortune; and the General himself at home, who expected not such his sudden rivalship to his Command, which gave him no time for mature consideration of the design; the *Scots*, who though Alarmed by frequent rumours of an *English* Invasion, yet were not so forward in their Levies, as having assurance of *Fairfax's* dissatisfaction) he was now waisted over into *England*, preventing the Letters he had sent to the States to know their express pleasure for his departing that Kingdom.

On the beginning of *June* he returned by the way of *Bristol* from *Ireland* to *London*, and was welcomed by *Fairfax* the General, many Members of Parliament and Council of State at *Hounslow-heath*, and more fully complemented at his Lodgings, and in Parliament by the Thanks of the House; and the like significant Address of the Lord Mayor, &c. of *London*, being look'd

upon as the only Person, to the Eclipse and diminution of the Generals Honour, which we shall presently see him paramount in the same supreme Command.

The World that considered the carriage of this Politique towards his Prince, and with what intemperate violence, and short-lived *extempore* Counsels. He had bereaved him of his Life, had wondred that hitherto he had suffered the Command of the Army to rest in *Falsus's* hand, and had not practised some quicker expedient to remove him; that having finished the work of this Generation (as they canted it with *Effect*) he did not give him a Fig for his labour; but *Cromwell* who courted his *Minion* of Providence, and devoted himself to her care and tuition of his Designs, would not rashly precipitate his Ambition without her Angury, but await the Assistance and Concurrences of some promising Revolution, which those many Military crosses and omens of that turbulent New State did certainly bode. And the *Scotch* war, now evening, the lucky minute was come, and his *Braken* Head told him *TIME IS*, for from hence he dated His Empire and Sustainship, and the *Mere Olivario*, choosing to derive his Succession to the Supreme Power, rather from the unperplex'd Tradition of the sword, than from an upstart bold Title to, and a forcible wresting of the Scepter. And yet such Helps and Hints he way-laid to his Throne, that it was rumoured soon after abroad, that he was descended of the *British* Princes,

Princes, and near allyed to *Henry* the Seventh, the glory of that race. But to proceed,

This Command of course was devolved upon my Lord *Fairfax*, and he desired to accept it, but he being intreated by some of the *Presbyterian* Ministers (who were highly incensed at this War) as it was cunningly foreseen by *Oliver* and his Party, who never enjoyed his satisfaction) and pretending a reluctancy from the Obligations of the National Covenant to engage against their Brethren; totally declined it, transferring the long expected Military Supremacy, (by a Vote of the Parliament to *Cromwell*, who very zealously accepted the Charge, and with all readiness prepared for the expedition; which made the second Trophy or Garland, of those strangely and wonderfully prosperous *Free-States* of *England*.

On the 12th of *June* it had been resolved that the Army should advance Northward; but it was the middle of *July* before they Arrived there, for on the 21st of that Month *Cromwell* quartered at *Berwick*; from whence he sent a Letter and Declaration to the Committee of Estates, fraught with hypocritical canting expressions; which the said Committee suppress, returning answer, that they would reply to it by Messengers of their own; and lest any of their people should be deluded by the like fair words, they made it Treason for any person to correspond with the English; and forbidding all their Cattle and Provision in the parts next adjacent to them, beyond *Ellenborough*.

equo

Cromwell's Army was now reckoned 16000 effective, with which he came first to *Mordington* his Headquarters *July* the 25. thence to *Haddington*, within 12. miles of *Edinburgh*, on the Hills whereabouts the *Scots* had encamped themselves, declining to engage till all their additional Forces were come out of the *High-lands*. On the 25. of *July* the *English* advanced, and attempted one of the said Hills where a small party of the *Scots* were, and beat them presently off, when a Party of *Scotch* Horse fell in the Rear with such fury and vigour, that they wholly disordered it, and with Reserves and Fresh bodies seconded and pursued this advantage, which being perceived by Major General *Lambert* and Coll. *Whaley*, who had the Rear-guard, they courageously repulsed them to their Trenches, in which Action *Lambert* had his Horse shot under him, was run through the Arm with a Lance, and was taken Prisoner, but was rescued by one Lieutenant *Empson*. This past, and the Army wet and weary in their way to *Muskeburgh*; betwixt 3 and 4 in the morning, another Party of some 1500 Horse, the flower of the Army, being veterane Blades, under the Command of Coll. *Montgomery* and *Straghan*; fell with great fury, and more exact valour upon them betwixt sleeping and waking, and brought a terrible fright and dismay upon the whole Army, Charging almost clear through upon the Sands, but returning with their Prisoners, were set upon by fresh Troops

Troops under Coll. *Okey*, in good order, and forced to double their speed home to their Camp, having lost an hundred men (to the same number in the former attempt) and some of their Officers slain and wounded, but came off otherwise with honour enough, giving the Invaders little hopes of so easie a Victory and Conquest, as the Fates had decreed to them, and their invincible Fortune.

Several jealousies, Animosities and discontents were now reigning among the *Scots*, more supremely then the Kings Authority; the Kings friends wholly discountenanced and laid by, even *Presbyterians* themselves no way understanding one another; some willing to give the King his Rights without more Stipulation and Engagements; others of them thinking they could not sufficiently debase his Authority, and that it should wholly depend on the Kirk; and to that purpose severall reverend Postulata were put to him, beyond the Tenour of the Treaty at *Breda*; and in fine that party prevailed so, as that the Army then on foot, vvas in effect but very little for the Kings Interest and Service, but vvas vvholly at the disposal of the rigid Covenanters. This was not unknown to *Cromwell*, who thereupon never ceased Scribling and Divulging of the *English* Armies good intention to the People of *Scotland*; *With whom they have no quarrel, but against a Malignant powerful Faction, who had brought in the King to the disturbance of the publique National.*

mal-peace and Friendship betwixt the two People, and that he was willing by Conference to give and receive satisfaction therein, otherwise to decide the Justice of that Cause by Battle. To which when no Answer would be returned, he advanced on the 10. of August (having recruited his Army by those Provisions that were plentifully brought by Sea, the Fleet Sailing an even pace with him and observing the same signals) on the West-side of *Edinburgh* up to the Line of the Scotch Army playing his Cannon, which were likewise answered; and Encamped on *Penland-hills* a little above *Edinburgh-castle*; intending to March for *Queens-ferry*, but the Passes were so difficult, and other Considerations intervened, that he proceeded no further. Next morning came a Letter to Him with a Declaration from the Estates and Kirk by sound of Trumpet, Declaring that the quarrel being now stated, and the King ready to consent to their demands, they were resolved to put it to the Issue and that the World may see what that was like to prove, it will be worthy the memory of those Transactions, to particularize them in this short abstract.

Cromwell being thus far advanced into *Scotland*, beyond the most advised Fears of the Parliament of *Scotland* (who had newly welcomed the King at *St. Johnston*) and their Army yet unprepared to fight him, they thought fit to entertain his Time and divert his Host with a Declaration, wherein most abominably they disowned the

the King, without such and such Satisfaction, to the tenor of the most rigid and undutiful conditions, that the worst of Rebels could have put upon a Prince, which being once confirmed and assented to by him, they would be ready to give Battel as the quarrell should then be started; and upon which they might expect a blessing. But this wile advantaged not the Kirk, but only served as a Directory to Oliver, where he should level his Treasonable projects.

To this Cromwell takes very good occasion to reply, and to let the Scots see of how near affinity the Kirk and the Congregational-way were in this respect to the King, he permitted, nay caused their Declaration to be publicly read to his Army; putting the Scotch-Remonstrants upon these Dilemma's; *That their professed disowning of Malignants, and receiving and assisting their Head and Chief, in whom all their hope lies; cannot consist in common-sense or prudence; reciting (as evidence thereof) the late Popish affairs in Ireland; and Prince Ruperts roving at Sea) That suppose He (the King) should give security of his turning, it must be some other way than by a few and feigned formal submissions; for it is his necessity and his old Complices that counsel him to that Compliance: Nor is it possible for the Scots (in the way that they are now in) to be able to secure themselves or England; and concludes, that upon this quarrel, if they be ready to fight,*
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his Army attends there for that purpose; and therefore the Scots cannot complain for want of an opportunity.

These pestilent and alike dangerous Papers; (which in effect seemed rather an agreement then cause of quarrell between the Antagonists) were warily considered by some, even of Kirk-men who loved the King, as of sudden and desperate consequence to his Majesties Person and Government, so highly vilified and disregarded; so that a Declaration (to the liking of the Kirk) was extorted from him, that there might no cause of pretence remain, either for their obstinate carriage towards him, or ready compliance with the Enemy.

Hereupon the *English* Army advanced again, and though several Bodies of *Scotch* Horse appeared, yet they presently withdrew upon their approach; which that it might not be altogether frustrate, *Cromwell* in sight of them caused a Garrison (called *Red-house*, within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*) to be stormed, wherein were taken 60. Foot, and the House made tenable and manned by the *English*; while the *Scots* (being necessitated for Provisions, and to joyn with some other Forces from *Fife* and the West) had marched two miles beyond *Edinburgh*, having a great Hill on the one side, and the City and a River on the other, so that it was very hazardous to engage them, being drawn up in Battalia, the great Guns playing on both sides. In which posture
and

and attendance the *Scots* and *English* stood, and neither changed ground, till Provisions growing scarce, *Cromwell* retreated to *Penland-hills* (*Lambert* having had some discourse and conference with *Straughan*, &c. about the former equity of their cause, *de lana caprina*) and thence with some difficulty (by reason of bad weather) to *Musleborough*, for Provant, and thence a few days after to *Dunbar*, with intention by shipping or any other way to get into *England*, being now closely followed by the *Scotch Army* in their rear; who rightly guessing the *English* to be weakened with long Marches and want of Victual, made cock-sure of a total Victory, which snatching at before it was ripe for them, fearing nothing more then that they would escape them, they saw themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing Enemy, a most insulting Conqueror.

On Sunday at night, the first of *September*, the *English* (making at most not above 12000. men) came to *Dunbar*, whither the *Scots* (keeping close at their Heels) came also, and drew up their whole Army, consisting of between 20. and 24. thousand men, upon a high Hill within a mile of the Town, to the great amazement at first of the *English*; but despair adding resolution to their courage, they presently drew out in Battalia in the Corn-field near adjoining, and so stood all night, being incamped upon a Neck of Land, whose Breadth was not a Mile and a half from Sea to Sea; so that they were by Land quite coop-
ed

ed up. In confidence therefore of an assured Victory, *David Leslie* who Commanded this Kirk Army in chief, began to advance as early as the Sun next morning, and drew down the Hill, fixing at the foot thereof, and about 4. a clock in the afternoon brought down his Train, there being a great Ditch betwixt both the Armies. That night the *English* (by Command) placed themselves close to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces likewise in every Regiment, that they might be in a readiness in case the Enemy should attempt any thing upon them, who were vainly expecting terms of a rendition; boasting that they had them in a worse pound then the King had the Earl of *Essex* at *Lafricbiell* in *Cornwall*.

The Ministers having their voice in the Council of War held by this Kirk Army, most earnestly urged the Engagement and fight (against those that were of opinion to let the *English* escape, and not venture the fortune of War upon an Enemy made desperate of which there were so many sad examples) saying that God had delivered *Agag*, meaning *Cromwell*, into their power, and if they let him go, would require him at their hands.

On Tuesday morning at four of the Clock, a Brigade of the *English* Army drew down to possess themselves of a pass upon the Road, between *Edinburgh* and *Berwick*, which being had, they might with the more ease and advantage, make their way home, and in order thereto pass over to

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the Enemy, to fall upon them. This Brigade consisted of three Regiments of Horse, of Major General *Lamberts*, Commissary General *Whatelys*, and Collonel *Lithburns*, and two of Foot. This gave the *Scots* a great Alarm, and a sore dispute happened about the pass, which lasted above an hour, the great Guns playing in the mean time against both the bodies. At length that stout Brigade gained and possessed the pass; much gallantry and bravery being shewed on both sides. This pass lay at *Copperspath* in the *English* way homewards, to impede which, they had drawn off their best Horse upon the right Wing to receive the *English*, whose Word was the *Lord of Hosts*, theirs *The Covenant*.

The Enemy charged hereupon with their Lancers, so that that the Horse gave way a little, but immediately rallied, and the foot advancing to second them, the *Scots* were charged so home, that they put them presently to the rout; it being about six a Clock in the morning, the left Wing of Horse without striking one stroke, following the same way; The Foot seeing this rout and flight of the Horse, and not able in any order by reason thereof to engage, were all of a sudden so confused and confounded, that without any resistance or offer of Engagement, they threw down their Arms, and fled, giving the *English* the full pursuit of them above eight miles beyond *Haddington*; the number of the slain were 40000, 9000 Prisoners, many whereof were desperately

rately wounded, and 10000 Arms, all their Am-
 munition, Bag and Bagage, Prisoners of Note
 were, Sir *James Lumfdale*, Lieutenant General
 of the Army, the Lord *Libberton*, imployed by
 the States to the King lately, and died of his
 wounds presently after the fight at *Dunbar*, Ad-
 jutant General *Hickerson*, Scout-master *Campbel*,
 Sir *William Douglass*, Lord *Craufston*, and Colo-
 nel *Gorden*; 12 Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Majors,
 42 Captains, 75 Lieutenants, 17 Cornets, 2
 Quarter-masters, 110 Ensigns, Foot and Horse
 Colours 200, 27 Guns, some Brass, Iron and
 Leather, with the loss of not above 300. *English*,
 and one Major *Rookishy* who died after of his
 wounds: there was likewise taken the Purse to the
 great Seal of *Scotland*, which was presently sent
 up to *London*, and the Colours with those taken
 before at *Preston*, ordered forthwith to be hung
 up in *Westminster-Hall*; The full Contents of all
 which, was signified in a Letter from the Gene-
 ral in his usual strain of devout zeal, tending ve-
 ry much to strengthen the *Independent* against the
Presbyterian at home, and the advancement of
 a Common-wealth to the imitation of the rest of
 the World; the latter part thereof for the severer
 Aspect it had towards the Ministry in favour of
Anabaptists, with which the Army swarmed, I
 have here inserted.

*The Ministers of Scotland have hindered the
 passage of those things (meaning his affection to
 the good people of Scotland) to those to whom we
 intend*

intended them, and now we see that not only the deceived people, but some of the Ministers (three or four) are fallen in the fight. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of those who taking into their hands the instrument of a foolish Shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly powers, to set up that which they call the Kingdom of Christ, (which is neither it, nor if it were it, would such be found effectual to that end) and neglect, or trust not to the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone able and powerful to that end, and when trusted to will be found effectually able, &c. This is HUMBLY offered for their sakes (who have lately turned too much aside) that they might return again to Preach Jesus Christ, &c. and then no doubt they will deserve and find your protection and encouragement. Which humble offer was to command a strict Inquisition upon them, as those most probable to obstruct the new module of his future greatness.

The glory of this field though it were by his own party ascribed to his valour, yet it laid a great blemish on his conduct, and indeed the rescue of his honour is principally to be referred to Colonel Monck, whose company he had obliged in this expedition, (being very understanding in the choice, and as subtle in the shaking off his Friends and Familiars.) He had newly had a Regiment conferred on him, made up of recruits and

H

other

other imperfect companies, and did now at the Generals request draw and design the fight, and embattle the Army, and seconded that deliberate speculation with forwardest of action, for which indeed most of the Officers were very praise worthy: After the fight *Cromwell* used some catching courtesies to the wounded Soldiers, and the feeblers sort of Prisoners, but the poor Highlanders and such like, paid dear for that partial kindness shewed their Countrymen, as many as with difficulty lived being sold for slaves.

On the 14. of *September*, General *Cromwell* marched out of *Edenburgh* with 7. days provision, for the *Scots* had not left any manner of substance betwixt that and *Sterling*, and on the 15. reached beyond *Linlithgow*, but through bad weather was constrained to retreat thither that night for shelter, the 16. to *Falkirk* within a Mile of *Sterling*, from whence fresh Letters of the old strain were sent into that City, but the Trumpeter was not suffered to enter, whereupon order was given for a storm, but upon better thoughts of the danger, forbore, so that on the 19. of *September* they returned to *Linlithgow* (whither came General *Dean* to him from Shipboard, being newly arrived at *Leith*, in the *Speaker* Frigate) and fortified the Town, being the road way betwixt *Edenburgh* and *Sterling*, and a sufficient Garrison was left to maintain it, and so on the 23. the *English* returned to *Edenburgh*, where Coll. *Whally* had offered the Ministers fled to the Castle, leave in

come

come out and preach in their several Parishes, but they refused: Another Cajole to the Kirk.

Cromwell encamping and traversing hereabouts with his Army, but not being able to effect any thing against the main Army of the Kings that lay on *Sterling-side*, resolved to be doing with a Party; that then lay in the West of *Scotland*, under the Command of the Colonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, with whom *Cromwell* had maintained an open intercourse, and had proffered them a Cessation; driving at this, to take them off and subdivide the Nation in several parties, and the effect of his Papers, taxing the Scots with the admission of the King upon the old Malignant score, did operate as he projected; for thereupon out-comes a Declaration or Remonstrance from these Western fellows, full of saucy and treasonable language, which accordingly was voted both by the Commissioners of the Kirk, and the Committee of Estates to be scandalous and seditious, Sir *James Stuart*, and Sir *John Cheisly*, and one Mr. *Leviston* (who seemed to countenance it) were strictly watched, and *Straughan* taken and made Prisoner in *Dunbarton*, and after in *Cathnes-castle*, whence he escaped and came over to the *English* at *Edenburgh*: but 'twas more the sacred hunger of Gold then zeal for Religion, made him first betray his King and his Country after, and we shall see all *Cromwell's* Profelytes of that Nation, both *Dundasse*, *Warreston*, and *Giffan*, to love nothing so much as the Mammon of *Presbytery*.

Straughan thus removed, Major General *Lambert* was sent to prevail with *Ker*, either by blows or words, the latter being thought as feisible as the former, and accordingly on the last of *November*, having difficultly found, and passed a Ford over *Hambleton-river*, *Car* got notice of it, and resolutely fell into the Major Generals quarters at a Town of that name; but the Horse being in a readiness to receive him. he lost a 100. men, had his right hand almost cut off, and was taken Prisoner, and the rest of his party being 5. Regiments of Horse, 2. whereof were, the Earl of *Cassells*, and Lord *Kirconbrights*, pursued as far as *Ayre*, where Commissary General *Whalley* was now left to command in chief in those Western parts. *Cromwell* had marched with his Army this way as far as *Glasgow* in *October*, but understanding or dreading the enemy would come and relieve *Edinburgh-Castle*, with Provisions and another Governour (being in Treaty with the present for a summe of money) he forthwith retired; having there took and garrisoned two Houses, while Coll. *Whalley* took in *Dalkeith*, and another nest of *Mosse-Troopers*, yet his coming thither hindered Major General *Montgomery* from marching into those parts, to reduce *Ker* likewise to his obedience to the King.

Edinburgh-castle had been besieged some Months and upwards, with little loss on either side, save that the great Guns from the Castle did some Mischief in *Edinburgh-streets*, and one Captain

Captain *Hamilton* was shot in the head with a Musquet, as he was viewing the Castle, and the Morter-peices made semblance of great terrour and annoyance to the besieged; a Mine was likewise carried on some 60. foot, the Stone being cut all the way; but then they could proceed no further, being come to the Rock whereon the Castle stands: Nevertheless the *Derbyshire* Miners (being 12. in number) did what they could to proceed, the Enemy throwing Pitch and Flax and other combustibile stuff into the Works. At last the personated Hostility came to a period, and *Dundasse* old *Levens* Son in Law, pretending want of Water, came to a Parley, and having premised a colourable request of 10. days time, to send to the Committee of Estates, by whom he said he was intrusted, which he knew was to be denied; and after several missives betwixt *Cromwell* and him, concluded the rendition of that most important place to the Kings Service, in these Articles agreed on, betwixt Major *Aberne- thy Dundasses* man, and Captain *Henderson* on one side, and Col. *Monk* L. Col. *White* on the other (it was always before called the *Maiden*, it may henceforth be called the *Prostitute-castle*) the Articles were as follow,

That the Castle should be surrendered to his Excellency Oliver Cromwell, with all the Ordnances, Arms, Magazine, and Furniture of War thereunto belonging, on Tuesday the 24. of December.

2. That the Governour, Officers, and Soldiers,

should march with Drums beating, &c. in military posture, to such place as they shall appoint. 3. The publique moveables, private writs and evidences to be removed to Serling. 4. That Proclamation should be made for all that had goods in the Castle, to come or send, to own and receive them. 5. All sick Officers and Soldiers, as well such as hurt (in reputation) to have liberty to stay in Edinburgh, and the English to provide Horses and Wagons for the Governour and other Officers and Hostages to be given on the Scots part for performance.

There were found in it five French Cannon, nine Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two demy Culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, 28. Brass Drakes, called Monkeys, two Petards, betwixt seven and eight thousand Arms, near 80. Barrels of Powder, and a like store of Cannon shot: Col. Fenwick, was presently upon the surrender, made Governour of this and Leith; Sir Arthur Haslerigge, and Mr. Scot were present at the rendition thereof, and then departed, their work being done; which that it may the better appear for a peice of the vilest treachery any Scot ever committed (though Cromwel ascribes it in his Letter to the Speaker, to the alone Wisdome of God beyond all humane power and accomplishment) take this account from the lovers themselves of this Treason at Edinburgh, The greatest want they had was of Beer, but as for Oatmeal, Butter, Fresh Water, and Salt Meat, they had enough; the Master Gunner told me, that
when

when our Guns were a drawing to the Batteries, he had so placed his Pieces, that ours could not possibly have been planted without great loss, but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden by the Governour upon pain of Death. His man Abernethy went often out of the Castle, upon pretence of getting intelligence (but it was to hold it with Cromwel) sure it is, that Dundas and he and some others were a little wiser, and went not over the water as they had made conditions, some of those that did being Imprisoned (the Court and Camp being sadly affected with this loss) The Provost of Edinburgh, Sir James Stuart is in Town, but keeps private, lest the Wives in the Street should abuse him as they did Straughan, and Ker at their coming hither, the Lord Warreston, who came as he pretended for the Records, is not yet returned, but stays in Town, for he cares not to go back, He and the rest of that Remonstrant Tribe are summoned to come to Parliament, Col. Dundas, Straughan, and Captain Giffan, with Abernethy, Swinton, and Andrews, were else to be Excommunicated and declared Traytors, which was done Jan. 14. Mr. James Guthry, and the Earl of Lothian, and Gen. Holborn were generally suspected, with Sir John Chiesly, who are every day expected in our quarters, Rutherford and Gillespy are likewise dissenters from the present manage of Affairs. Ker saith, his wound on his right hand is Gods justice against him, for lifting it up against us in such a cause as he maintained. And so I will conclude
all

all those treasonable practices, and fomented divisions of that Nation against their common interest by this Master of all Treacherous Arts.

Cromwell was again very earnest and intent upon making or finding a way by *Sterling*, and therefore on the 8. of *February* he marched thither again, having been informed of some Fords thereabouts where he might pass his Army, or at least impede their raising of new Forces, and waylay their marching into *England*. which was given out as the grand design, a Force being left on that side the water, sufficient to sustain any impression of the *English*; and to that expedition Duke *Hamilton*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Cleaveland*, *Wentworth*, *Wilmot*, and Collonel *Massey*, who had a noble and full Regiment and was to be Major General, with *Titus*, and Col. *Graves* were designed. *Cromwell* as was said, to this purpose, in very tempestuous weather reached his intended passes, but found the approaches to them so boggy and unpassable, that in the same stress of weather, his Army half spoiled with cold, and other discommodities, he was forced to retire again as he had done twice before (having only alarumed the *Scots*, and put them into a sudden posture of defence) to *Glasgow*, and to await the time of his boats Arrival and a happier season of the year.

This was the first seat of Rebellion in that Kingdome, and very fit for his Head Quarters, an University also; which remembers me that

that *Cromwell* a little while before was chosen Chancellor of *Oxford*, and honoured here with the publique Seal thereof, on purpose to stave off the rapinous, sacrilegious hands of the Parliament, who were a hammering upon an Act for the sale of Colledge-Lands, to carry on their Wars; and *Cromwell* did (as was well projected) undertake their preservation, and did express some angry resentment at the Parliament for this Barbarity, laying his hand as usual upon his Sword; There was this remarkable herein, that the Delegates of the University declared not their main design till they had given him his Oath as Chancellor, which was thought of little security, but only that the solemnity of it might the better mind him to whom he had given it. Hence after some debates, and publique disputes with the Ministers, viz. *Gillespy*, *Rutherford*, &c. of *Glasgow* aforesaid, concerning the lawfulness of his Invasion, which he performed as he said, in much weakness of (both Argument and) body, seeing there was no drawing the Scot out that way to fight, which way they intended for an undisturbed march, marched back to *Edenburgh* by the beginning of *May* (and in his way burned the Lady *Kilfishes* house, for holding intelligence with the King) having notice of the Arrival of his Boats at *Leith*, for the transportation of his Army into *Fife*, which was the last remedy; the failure of victuals in the Scotch Camp, which therefore they should be forced to abandon and march, proving a meer delusion. I Cr.

Cromwell being at *Edinburgh*, having notice how the King lay encamped at *Sterling*, *Lesblys* Foot quartering on the Southside, and *Middletons* on the North-side of the Park encompassed with a Stone-wall; and that abundance of Provision was brought in daily, supposing they would march; drew al his remaining forces out of the west with as much care and conduct as could be, and encamped likewise in the Fields by *Edinburgh* in a readinesse for them, whither to march or fight: But in the mean time he was taken very ill of his Ague, so that Doctor *Wright* and Doctor *Bates* eminent Physicians, were sent down to attend his cure, & many blith & anxious discourses were made concerning his Death, as either party wished, for he was brought very low; but being recovered to some degree of health by these Gentlemen, it was presently sounded like a Proclamation; and I have therefore thought fit to transcribe a peice of the Letter, that the world may see what queer Hypocrites his attendants, like himself and his times were, by the pious nonsense and most blasphemous flattery of this Apocrypha Epistle. If I knew the Secretary or Inditer, I would record him for his Pen,----- Truly Sir, his Life and Health are exceeding precious, and I account it every day a greater mercy then other that we have his Life, observing that every dispensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more heavenly and holy, and by consequent more useful for his Generation, in the management of that

power

power God hath committed to him, &c.

This Occasion of his Sicknesse, minds me of one passage of his Life, wherein was a *Ray* or *Specimen* of his *Humanity*. He had a *Servant* a *Frenchman*, one *Dury*, that attended him in his Chamber, whom of all his Retainers he best loved, and would hardly brook his absence out of his Sight, whether for that he could more freely communicate his Privacies to a forraigner, who was altogether unconcerned in them, and therefore of greater secrecie and confidence; or for his diligence and care of his person, set off with his national fondnesses & insinuations. This fellow dying not long after, *Cromwell* did passionately grieve thereat, and for the memory of this his dear *Servant*, made ample provisions by a Pension for his relations, which continued during his Usurpation. At last with much ado by the helps of Physick, and the especial constant attendance of those Doctors sent him, and charged with his preservation by the Parliament; *Cromwell* fully revived to theirs (afterwards) aswell as the Kingdoms sorrow.

The English Army in *Scotland* was now in motion for grass, and marched upon their old design of *Sterling* to *Newbridge*, so to *Lithgow*, from whose Castle Battlements, they might espy the Tents of the Scotch Army encamped in *Torwood* 4 Miles of this side *Sterling* (whither his creature *Warreston* was now summoned by the Commissioners of the Assembly peremptorily by the third of

July) having cast up a regular and well fortified line with Bulworks mounted with Guns, and having a River behind them, which they might passe at pleasure; in this posture they awaited the English, who coming up and facing them the third of *July*, in the night following the Scots drew up their Cannon, and planted them on the brow of the Hill, and next morning saluted *Cromwell* with 50. great Guns, but with little Execution, which made him quickly draw out of shot, and give over his once begun resolution of attacking them at so much disadvantage. The English therefore, marched back again, Major Generall *Lambert* being sent from *Glasgow* a week after to view the passes, which he reported by reason of the boggy approaches there, to be very hazardous. Upon their departure from *Lithgow* to *Glasgow*, the Scots removed from *Torwood*, and encamped at *Kilfish* a place environed with insuperable defences, having a bog on one hand, and craggy mountains on the other, but the English Army (having eaten up all at *Glasgow* and those parts, and trod down the Corn standing, that the Scots might find no sustenance that way, if they should march) appearing and marching with great noise, on the other side, they imagining the English meant to clap in between them and *Sterling*, hastened back again to their old line at *Torwood*, *July* 13. whither *Cromwell* followed, and to provoke them to an Engagement, storm'd *Calendar House* in their view, and put all the Defendants except the Governour to the

the Sword, and then seeing there was no possibility of fighting with them, but that they were resolved to keep them in play, till Winters scarcity of horse-meat should make them give over and depart the Kingdom, he encamped himself, awaiting the successe of his design by Boat into *Fife*.

While *Cromwell* thus attended the Scots at *Torwood*, within a mile and a half of them at *Falkirk*, at length the long expected successe of a transportation into *Fife* manifested it self; for Col. *Overton* with 1400. foot of his own, and Col. *Daniels* Regiment, with four Troops of Horse of Coll. *Lydcotts*, having with the losse of a few men gained a place called *North Ferry* on the other side the *Firth*, on the 17. of *July*, had as the time served intrenched themselves, and before the Scotch Army then beyond *Sterling* could reach them with a sufficient force to drive them out, Major General *Lambert* was passed over to them, it being an Arm of the Sea, and had defeated Sir *John Brown* with 4000. men; The successe and great consequence of which, and the said transportation, I wil briefly sum up in *Cromwells* Letter.

‘ In pursuance of the providence of God, and
 ‘ that blessing lately given to your Forces in *Fife*,
 ‘ and finding that the Enemy being Masters of the
 ‘ Passe at *Sterling*, could not be gotten out there
 ‘ without hindering his Provisions at *Saint John-*
 ‘ *stons*, we by general advise thought fit to attempt
 ‘ *Saint Johnstons*, knowing that that would ne-
 ‘ cessitate Him to quit His Passe; wherefore
 ‘ leaving

' leaving with Major General *Harrison* about
 ' 3000. Horse and Dragoons besides those which
 ' are with Coll. *Rich*, Coll. *Saunders*, and Coll.
 ' *Barton* upon the Borders, we marched to Saint
 ' *Johnstons*, and lying one day before it, we had
 ' it Surrendred to us ; during which time we had
 ' some intelligence of the Enemies marching
 ' Southward , though with some contradictions as
 ' if it had not been so ; but doubting it might be
 ' true , leaving a Garrison in Saint *Johnstons* ,
 ' and sending Lieutenant Generall *Monk* with
 ' 5, or 6000. to *Sterling* to reduce that place ,
 ' and by it to put your affairs into a good posture
 ' in *Scotland* : We marched with all possible ex-
 ' pedition back again, and have passed our Foot
 ' and many of our Horse over the *Frith* this day,
 ' resolving to make what speed we can up to the
 ' Enemy ; who in this desperation and fear , and
 ' out of inevitable necessity is run to try what he
 ' can do this way. I do apprehend that if he goes
 ' for *England*, being some few dayes march before
 ' us, it will trouble some mens thoughts, and may
 ' occasion some inconveniences, of which I hope
 ' we are as deeply sensible, and have, and I trust
 ' shall be as diligent to prevent as any ; and in-
 ' deed this is our comfort, that in simplicity of
 ' heart as to God, we have done to the best of our
 ' judgements, knowing that if some issue were not
 ' put to this businesse, it would occasion another
 ' Winters War to the ruin of your Souldiery, for
 ' whom the Winter-difficulties of this Country ,
 ' are

'are too hard, and be under the endlesse expence of
'the Treasure of *England* in prosecuting this War.

'It may be supposed we might have kept the
'Enemy from this, by interposing between him
'and *England*, which truly I believe we might,
'but how to remove Him out of this place with-
'out doing what vve have done, unlesse we had
'had a commanding Army on both sides of the
'River of *Frith*, is not clear to us, or how to an-
'swer the inconveniences aforementioned vve
'understand not; vve pray therefore, that seeing
'there is a possibility for the Enemy to put you to
'some trouble, you vwould vvith the same cou-
'rage (grounded upon a confidence in God)
'wherein you have been supported to the great
'things in which God hath used you heretofore,
'improve the best you can such Forces as you have
'in readinesse, or may on the sudden be got toge-
'ther to give the Enemy some check, until we
'shall be able to reach up to him, which we trust
'in the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in;
'and indeed we have this comfortable experiment
'from the Lord, that this Enemy is heart-smitten
'by God, and when ever the Lord shall bring us
'up to them, we believe the Lord will make the
'desperateness of this Council of theirs to appear,
'and the folly of it also; when *England* was much
'more unsteady then now, and when a much more
'considerable Army of theirs unfoiled, invaded
'you & we had but weak force to make resistance
'at *Preston*, upon deliberate advice, we chose ra-
'ther

‘ther to put our selves between their Army and
 ‘*Scotland*, and how God succeeded that is not
 ‘well to be forgotten.

‘This is not out of choice on our part, but by
 ‘some kind of necessity, and it is to be hoped will
 ‘have the like issue, together with a hopeful end
 ‘of your work, in which it’s good to wait upon
 ‘the Lord, upon the earnest of former experien-
 ‘ces, and hope of his presence, which only is
 ‘the life of your Cause. Major General *Harris-*
 ‘*son*, with the Horse and Dragoons under him,
 ‘and Colonel *Rich*; and the rest in those parts,
 ‘shall attend the motion of the Enemy, and en-
 ‘devour the keeping of them together, as also to
 ‘impede his March, and will be ready to be in
 ‘conjunction with what Forces shall get together
 ‘for this service, to whom Orders have been spee-
 ‘ded to that purpose, as this enclosed to Major
 ‘General *Harrison* will shew. Major General
 ‘*Lambert* this day marched with a very considera-
 ‘ble Body of Horse up towards the Enemies Reer;
 ‘With the rest of the Horse and nine Regiments
 ‘of Foot (most of them of your old Foot and
 ‘Horse) I am hastning up, and shall by the Lords
 ‘help use the utmost diligence: I hope I have left
 ‘a commanding force under Lieutenant General
 ‘*Monk* in *Scotland*. This account I thought my
 ‘duty to speed to you, and rest

Leith 4. August

1651.

Your most humble Servant
 O. Cromwell.

The

This shews what sudden troubled apprehension He had of this well designed March of the Kings, and made him repent his obstinacy of Honour in reducing St. *Johnstons*, by which the King got 3 days March of him; but however he excused this to the Parliament (who were almost in despair, and terribly affrighted at the News of it) yet they did highly tax him for his negligence, and spoke ill words of him, which came to his ears, and for which he soon after cried quits with them.

The King departed from *Sterling* the last of *July*, and came into *England* by the way of *Carlisle*, and upon his first footing there was Proclaimed rightful King of *Great Britain*, and did thereupon publish his Declaration, wherein He offered His free Grace and Pardon (to be confirmed by an Act thereafter) to all His Subjects of *England*, of what ever nature or crime their offences were, excepting *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, and *Cook*, the more immediate Murtherers of His Father; and therewith prosecuted His March, being proclaimed in the same manner through all the Towns he passed.

On the 22, of *August*, the Van of the Kings Army entred *Worcester*, some resistance being attempted to be made by some new raised Forces under one Colonel *James*, and by the influence of Baron *Wilde*, but the Townsmen saved them the labour of driving them out, and most joyfully welcomed these weary Guests, and such too as in 1645. had been extremely oppressive and in-

tolerably burdensome , at the Siege of *Hereford* but their gladness at the Kings presence , and hope of his Restitution , obliterated all other considerations and remembrances whatsoever. The Mayor and his Brethren at the Kings *Intrada* did Him the customary but most chearful obeysances tendring Him the Keys and the Mace upon their Knees , and bidding Him and His Forces welcome to this his Majesties Ancient and Loyal City, where the same day with great solemnity He was anew Proclaimed , and the tired Soldiers most abundantly provided for, being in all *Scotch* and *English* some 13000. who had marched 300. miles outright in three weeks.

In the mean time the Parliament had amassed a numerous Militia in all the Counties of *England* and glad were the Members that the King itayed for them, for nothing was more dreaded then his continued march to *London* , which place would have soon ridded their fears , upon an approach of the Kings Army but 30. miles further from *Worcester* , but to prevent that , as *Essex* did before at the beginning of the War (whose first efforts took this way) *Cromwell* by long Marches through *Newcastle* , *Rippon* , *Ferrybrygs* , *Doncaster* , *Mansfield* , and *Coventry* , had interposed himself, and joyned with his Army at *Keynton* , where a General Council of all his Officers was held , and a speedy advance to *Worcester* resolved on , Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* being dispatch'd to bring up his Forces , then on their way

way at *Banbury*, the gross of all the Forces amounting to above 50000. effective, Militia and all.

By this time *Cromwell* had surrounded the City of *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first pass endeavoured to be taken, was *Upton-Bridge* on *Fleetwoods* side, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with 500. Horse and Dragoons, who unespied crept upon their Bellies on a peice of Timber they had laid over the River, which the surprizing Assailants after a brisk dispute wrestled from Colonel *Massej*. The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place, it was presently posselt by a strong Party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The *Scots* now drawn closer to *Worcester* made many Salleys, breaking down 2. or 3. Bridges over the River *Team*, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage; but *September* the third, that ominous day, he drew out from his own Post (and having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on) began the Fight in this manner.

Cromwell himself in person (about 3. a Clock with his Life Guard, and Colonel *Hackers* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Regiment, and Colonel *Ingoldsby's*, and *Fairfax's* entire) passed over his Bridge of Boats upon the *Severn*, and marched towards the City, after him,

Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*, who had been most part of that day marching of 5. miles from *Upton* to *Powick-bridge*, which the Kings Army had broken down, passed with Colonel *Giff's* and Major General *Dran's* Regiments, and joyntly advanced, the Kings Forces encountring them at the Hedges, and disputing every field with them, in such order and with such gallantry, that these already over (lest they should not be wholly discouraged with the hotnesse of the service) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent Firemen, and coming to the But-end at every foot, till weary, and their Ammunition spent, the King being then upon the place Com-manded them in some hast into the City, and hastned himself to the other side. where Colonel *Hayns* Regiment, with *Cobbets* stood about *Pow-ick bridge*, and were entertained with no less Manhood and Slaughter, and though Colonel *Mathews* was the reserve to the other two Regi-ments, yet did the *Scotch* Foot fairly drive them from their ground, till their little Army being every way engaged, and no seconds or supplies to be expected, after some wheelings in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town as did that Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray*, Colonel *Blagus*, *Gibbons*, and *Marsh*.

But they stayed not long here, for as if their pent spirits had broke out with greater fury, they sallied out in great bodies upon the Generals side, who had now brought the *Militia* Forces into play, the Veterans wisely detrecting to engage first upon the Storm which was then intended, but there was yet field matter enough to do. In the Head of one of those squadrons, the King himself charged with that gallantry which would have become our Admiration in other men, and showed he had not forgot the Discipline of War in which he had been brought up from his youth; In one of those Charges he made, Duke *Hamilton* a better Soldier and nobler gallanter person then his Brother, received a shot on his thigh, whereof presently after he dyed. The loss that was sustained by the Enemy, fell principally upon the *Essex* Foot, and those of *Cheshire* and *Surrey*, who returned in thin Troops and Companies to their Counties; but fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, in Reserves, namely *Desborough's* Regiment of Horse, *Cromwell's* of Horse, Major General *Lambert's* of Horse, *Whaley's*, *Harrison's*, and *Tomlinson's* Brigades, with other Foot re-inforcing them; the Scots by the overpowering multitude were driven into the Town, *Leshley* with 2000. Horse (upon what account not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve them, when the Enemy entred pell mell with them, and gained the Fort Royal about 7. a Clock at night, at which time the King left the

Town it being dusk, and accompanied vvith some 60. Horse of the cheifest and most confident of his Retinue, though many more pressed to bear him Company) departed out of *St. Martins-gate*, and it was reported that *Cobbet* very narrowly Mist of him, as the King left his lodging, whether he first hastned.

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and according to their Order fell a plundering the Town in a most barbarous manner, as if Turks were again a *Sacking of Constantinople*, and giving no quarter to any they found in the Streets: through this their greedinesse of spoil, they kept the Horse out lest they should have shared the better part, and to that purpose kept the Gates fast as they were, and so favoured (as God would have it) the Kings escape, some Scots who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained quarter for Life, by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester* friend or foe left worth a farthing; but the Loyal Inhabitants lost little by the bargain, being supplied with fresh wares to their desires from *London*, without any scruple of credit or paiment and their Debts forborn till such time as God should enable them, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to passe, by their more then ordinary resort to that Market, for all necessaries and upon all occasions. The Mayor (being Knighted by the King) and Aldermen vvere committed to Prison, and the
Wife

Wife of one *Guyes* (vvho for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison vvvas hanged) vvvas revvarded vvith 200. *l.* per annum , and 200 *l.* dovvvn.

There were slain in Field , and in Town (in the last the most) and in pursuit some 3000. and some 8000. taken prisoners in several places, most of the *English* escaping by their *Shiboleth* , the principal were Duke *Hamilton* , who presently dyed of his wounds, and at *Newport* the Earl of *Lauderdale* , Earl of *Rothes*, Earl of *Carnworth*, Earl of *Kelly*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Cleveland*, the now Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Sir *John Packington*, Lord *Spyne*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, Sir *Charles Cunningham* , Colonel *Graves* , Mr. *Richard Fanshaw* Secretary to the King , 6 Col. of Horse, 13. of Foot, 9 Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, 8. Lieutenant Colonels of Foot, 6. Majors of Horse, 13. Majors of Foot, 37. Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55. Quarter-masters, 89. Lieutenants ; there were taken also some General Officers , with 76. Cornets of Horse , 99. Ensigns of Foot, 90. Quartermasters, 80. of the Kings Servants , with the Kings Standard which he had set up when he summoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS, but that which was Ten times more worth then all, the Kings person, they had no power to touch.

On the 12. of *Sept.* *Cromwell* came to *London* , and was met about *Alton* with the Speaker, and the Members, and the Lord Mayor and the

Recorder *Steel*, who in a set Speech congratulated his great successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken Prolepsis, applied these words of the Psalmist,----- *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant Exaltation of his Atcheivements; Next day the common Prisoners, (being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought through *Westminster* into *Turbill-fields*, (a sadder spectacle was never seen, except the miserable place of their defeat) and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to the *Barbadoes*; the Colours taken vvere likewise hanged up in *Westminster-hall*, vvith those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

He had now passed and surmounted all the difficulties and troubles that the Interest of the Crown hitherto had threatned, and nothing was wanting to the Completion of his aims, but the Kings person, most miraculously preserved and rescued to the perpetuall disquiet and vexation of this *Would-be-Monarch*. But because that sacred story ought not to be blasphemed with the impiety of his, I will not intermingle any of those blessed Providences of His *Escape*, with the direful designments of *Cromwell's unobstructed passage* to the Throne.

For having superated all outward appearances of danger to his ultimate design, there remained nothing but a wretched and hated *Juncto* of Men with whom he was next to grapple; things so slighted by him and their Authority so scorned after this discomfiture of the King, that he never vouch-

safed-

safed them a good look. Nay publickly exprest his resentments of their saucy expostulations of his conduct, about the Kings march for *England*, which was mentioned before.

And therefore at his first comming into the House, (where he was entertained by the Speaker with the second part of *Steel's Panegyrick*) a motion was started for a new Representative, and all the Codlings and Embryons of *Tripos* and *New-market-Heaths* Engagements afresh resumed, and those Army expedients for which so many Levelers had suffered) now again revived, acknowledged and applauded for the only conducing means to the long expected settlement.

The main whereof was the proposal of a new Representative to be equally chosen to succeed the present Parliament. A most abominated and deprecated evil by the Members, who having done so much mischief and incurred so much detestation for practising his and their mutuall designs upon the best Government and the most incomparable Prince in the world, were almost at their Wits end with madnesse at *his*, and invention of *their*, (*contra*) devices.

While these things were debating amongst them and every day produced some fresh altercation and quarrell about dissolving this and choosing a new Representative, which the Souldiers not only from their former principle as *English* Freeman but now as the Generalls *Janizaries*, and in obedience to his diotates and commands; with the pretensory advice

advice of his Council of Officers unanimously and readily urged, (for he had brought the Army to his bow and disciplined them to a most exact ignorant devotion and obedience to his service during the *Scotch War*, where the distance of the Commonwealth-men could not reach:) his second self his son in Law *Ireton* died in *Ireland*, just as he was coming to the fruition of those grand projections they had both conspired. He had employed his Vice-government after *Cromwell's* departure in reducing places held for the King there being no Feild service ever after.

He survived not the totall Conquest of *Ireland*, to which he was by compact and *Olivers Bull* decreed, but saw a very fair prospect thereof in the rendition of *Limbrick* and the expected delivery of *Galloway*: and since this concerned *Cromwell* and the Agreement between them (which is most certain though none of those secret compacts are discoverable) I will give the Reader his Character and this short account of his decease here.

Limrick being taken, *Ireton* marched to joyn with Sir *Charles Coote* to attempt something further, and together took in *Clare Castle*, but the weather not proving so seasonable, and the Souldiers tired out with duty at the Siege of *Limrick*, they parted into Winter Quarters, *Ireton* back again to *Limrick*, in the way whither he fell sick on the 15. of *November*, and after purging and bleeding and other means used, died of the Plague in that City on the 27. of the same month, the Commissioners for

for the Parliament there substituting to his command in the Army (while the Parliament or General (for *Cromwell* was lately so made of *Ireland*) should otherwise appoint) *Edmund Ludlow* the Lieutenant General of the Army in that Kingdom. On the 17. of *December* his Carcasse was landed at *Bristol*, and pompously dismist to *London*, where it was for a time in state at *Summer-set-House*, all hung with black, and a Scutcheon over the gate with this Motto, *Dulce est pro patria mori*; how sutable, that Countryman best told who Englished it in these words, *it is good for his Country that he is dead*: on *Feb. 6.* following he was interred in *H. 7. Chappel* (being carried out with a pompous Funerall at which *Cromwell* was chief Mourner, and the Members of the Juncto attendants in Black with a great deal of State,) but hath since found a fitter repository for his accursed dust. It was beleived by the Army who did credit their own conjectures and others impostures for want of literature that he was a perfect Commonwealths-man, and would have withstood his Father in Law in his ambitious intrusions upon the Parliament, and this because he was the Drawer or Promoter of all the Levelling Fundamentals, but he prevented their juster judgement by appearing to a greater and most exact Tribunal, and perished with rottenness in the maturity of his design.

He

He was absolutely the best prayer-maker and preacher in the Army for which he might thank his Education at *Oxford*, though *Oliver* came but little behind him, being very frequent and instant, now especially, in such devotions out of all season and reason, but it was all one to the Souldiers who had nothing else to doe but to *Prey* and to *Pray*. The other qualities and conditions of *Ireton* were so congenial with *Olivers*, that in the prosecution of his story I shall but tell the same things, the evil *Spirit* after his decease being doubled upon him by a mischeivous *Metempsychosis*, a transmigration of soul, which assimilated their ashes in the same grave at *Tyburne*.

The Fortune of this Grand atcheivment at *Worcester* subjugated all the Dominions of the *English* Sovereignty entirely under the power of the free States, the Isles of *Scilly*, *Man*, *Barbadoes*, and *Christophors* submitting and acknowledging their Jurisdiction, all which were reckoned by *Cromwell* but the Trophees due to his valour and the reward of his labour; and therefore all things thus flattering his conceits of Majesty, He was angry with himself for permitting those delayes to his eager Ambition, now complemented, smoothed and tyred by many fine and pretty Evasions of the Members, who wanted not most just pretences to detain the Government from his handling; but of this presently.

There

There was another thing in his eye which troubled him most of all and resipited and superseded his design upon the *Rump*, which was the Illustrious Duke of *Gloucester* then a Prisoner at *Carisbrook-Castle* the prison of His Father and the Custody of himself; so long therefore as that Prince should continue here, he could not expect that a single person could be opposed to his right, without manifest danger from all parties, who to be revenged of their injuries would rather comply with the Royal Family than suffer his bold Usurpation. Therefore to quit himself of that fear, he procured by his Party in the Parliament (who were resolved to dispose of him here in some ordinary profession to make Majesty more contemptible in the sight of Men) that for the lessening the charge of the Commonwealth, the said Duke should be transported into some place beyond Sea, with a promised Exhibition of some scorned Pension.

The noble Duke being accordingly removed to the great content and joy of his Relations, who dreaded his Murther, and the satisfaction of *Cromwell* who was Gorged with his Royal Fathers, another danger returned from beyond Sea in exchange of that exported: for the *Dutch* gave manifest Symptomes of a Rupture with this new Commonwealth whose insolent depredations at sea had molested and greatly damnified their Trade, and braved them to a revenge, upon a pique taken from their rejecting their offers of a Treaty and Amity and suffering their Ambassadors *St John* and

and *Strickland* to be affronted at the *Hague* while the affairs of the King in *Scotland*, were yet in suspense.

It was therefore a hazardous Enterprize to be fighting with two Common-wealths together, and to which his confidence and Resolution could not raise him, without a surer interest in the people, who were to undergoe his Tyranny. This now reprieved the Members from his Decree of Dissolution, while they had tryed the fortune of war with the *Dutch*, and had put things into such a posture and certainty, that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it. The Treasures for the support of the War, being now a filling, a Naval force rigging and Equipping, and the Honour and glory of the Nation engaged and concerned. Thus far he cast his Eyes to forraign Transactions : To return ;

At home the Parliament had a greater mischief breeding against them then they feared from the most dangerous of their forraign Enemies. A dangerous imposture of ambition, whose quabbing beating payns gave them no rest, nor could all their skill tell how to assuage or cure it. It swelled every day more and more in continual addresses, desires, petitions, declarations, till it came to be ripe, and then burst out to the destruction of this political body. This was the reiterated and inculcated story of the Parliaments providing for future equal representatives and putting a period to this, then which nothing could be more distasteful, and

of greater antipathy to the present members, which yet they did most artfully conceal, and dissemble in a hundred complying Votes and resolves even to the ascertaining of the longest day, *November 5. 1654.* for their sitting, but that was two years too long for *Cromwel*, whose fingers itched to be managing a Scepter. In order to this delay, the Committee that first sat and hatcht upon this bill were removed from the nest, and the addle eggs put under the chil incumbency of other wild fowl, and they to proceed therein with all expedition, a thing so unlikely, that Sultan *Cromwel*, who expected a *Grand Cairo* brood, resolved not to be baffled much longer, or await the leisure of his mercenary Servants, as after a Fast and humiliation of him and his Council of Officers, and the Communication of the grounds thereof to the whole Army in *England* and *Ireland* (which was a lamentation for the tedious continuance of self-interested persons in the Authority, and other Religious melancholy about Charity, the want whereof was greatly bemoaned) we shall fully discover.

Every other day almost more Fasts, or some such religious Exercise was managed by *Cromwel* and *Harrison*, who mainly promoted the same Proposals for a new Representative, in order to the personal Raing of Christ, and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the Hands of his Saints, for all the glorious Prophecies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled, and

and this was cryed up as the Doctrine of the Times.

Cromwell see ned to be of the same judgement and of that Millenary Principle, designing (as he said) nothing in those Mutations of Government which were agitating, but in tendency to that great Revolution, so that he had absolutely fooled *Harrison* into a confidence of his good Intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatnesse: and thereupon all the party *Harrison* could make which was *Feaks*, *Rogers*, and *Symptoms*, Congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament outed, and their fine module to takeplace, wherein Righteousnesse and Holynesse should be exalted in the Kingdoms of the World. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threatned, and *Oliver* lookt upon as the great Instrument that should confound Antichrist.

But though most of the Officers were thus bewitch'd and besotted, yet a great many of them had just and strong suspicions what his dissolution of the Parliament would end in, and therefore secret consultations were held how to oppose these practises upon the Parliament, in whose Authority conserved and secured, they were so wise as to see themselves safe and defended from the After claps of the Rebellion; Among the rest, several Officers of Note came voluntarily out of Ireland (as some out of Scotland) who had by their general Fast perceived the Drift of their General, to withstand Him, and publicquely protest

test against the conduct of this business, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which so much blood had been spilt, and giving up the most glorious Cause in the World, to its *Nols* own vanquish'd Enemies Argument.

Major General *Lambert* nevertheless did concur with him in every particular, the whole design being secretly imparted to him, and he promised as a reward for his Assistance, the succession to the Supreme power. This intimacy of *Lambert* was of a long standing ever since *Preston-fight*, and was cemented the faster by that complacency *Oliver* took in his Wife; A Woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. The Voice of the people was, that she was more familiar with Him than the Honour of her Sex would allow, and that she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband, and that being the Medium or Reciprocation of Intelligence betwixt them, she did communicate all her husband's designs, and conceal some of the others, though she needed not to have been so squeemish, or reserved for one, whose Depths were never fathomed nor discovered to any one mortall, *Ireton* excepted. Of those that opposed him in the Design; Col. *Venables*, Scout-master-General *Downing*, and Major *Streeter*, were the most eminent, who to that purpose as above said, came out of *Ireland*; but Colonel *Venables* was soon wrought upon, and Mr. *Down-*

ing offering to speak against it in the Council of Officers, and getting upon a Table for better Audience, was bid to come down by *Cromwell*, asking him what he did there: only Coll. *Streater* persisted in his Resolution of giving reasons against it, and being flamm'd with *Harrison* with Christs personal Raig; and that he was assured the Lord General sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the Scepter; He presently replied; *That Christ must come before Christmas, or else he would come too late.* For this opportune opposition, and 10. Queries then published by him in the Army, he was committed to the *Gate-house*, and look'd upon by *Cromwell* as his Mortal Enemy.

The next Scene of this applauded Comedy was laid at the *Cock-pit* by *White-hall*, where *Cromwell* concealing the number of the Beast in his *Apocalypse*, declared to his Council of Officers, *That if they should trust the People in an Election of a New Parliament according to the old Constitution, it would be a tempting of God, and that his confidence was, that God did intend to save and deliver this Nation by few; as he had done in former times, and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the Work, might do more in one day, then the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbyassed men, were like to be the only Instruments of the peoples Happiness.*

These things had been offered to be debated
with

with a Committee, and a Treaty agreed, wherein so many Officers, and so many Members should meet, and argue the business, which signified only the crafty Constition of the Parliament (who made Asses of the Sword-men) *St. Johns* being one of those Referrees, with other resty Sages of the Anarchy. By this means 4. or 5. Months were spent upon the Definition of an equal Representative. But *Cromwell* growing resty, some began to make particular excuses, others to promise a new Representative to his mind, and some to side with the Equity of his Proposals, as most consistent, well advised, and prudential means, to the Peace of the Nation; such a ridiculous collusion, that I cannot but anticipate the Event of this Conspiracy with this Truth.

Upon his return from the Dissolution of the Parliament back again to the Council of Officers, He acquainted them of his Exploit, and then told them, That now they must go hand in hand with him, and justifie what was done to the hazard of all their Lives and Fortunes, as having advised and concurred in it. Adding, That when he went into the House, he intended not to do it; but the Spirit was so upon him, that He was over-ruled by it, and did not therefore consult with Flesh and Blood at all, nor did He premeditate the doing thereof, though he plainly saw the Parliament designed to spin an everlasting Thred, And because there are few good Acts of his Life. let the Reader *score him up One* for the 23. of April 1653.

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Oliver himself attended by Major General *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and some 8. more Officers having after several conferences with their Committees (who showed him the danger of calling a new Representative as the case then stood with the Common-wealth, for that no qualifications could sufficiently secure the interest thereof, and that the only way was to recruit the House which could judge of such Elections by their own Authority) received no satisfaction, entred the House (some Members being made privy to his design before, especially *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, who had held consultation the night before with him, and was up armed in his Chamber till the very time) and after a Speech therein showing the reasons and necessity of that Dissolution, did declare it to be so, and required them to depart; saying in some passion to some of them who began to ask the reason of this, thou art a Whoremaster, thou a Drunkard, thou a Cheater of the publique; and presently *M.G. Harrison* peremptorily bid the Speaker to leave the Chair; which he refusing to do without the Order of the House, and till he was pulled out, *Harrison* desired him to lend him his hand, and gently heaved him out; *Cromwell* also commanded that Bauble (as he called the Mace) to be taken away, and to be carried no more in State before him, and so having turned them out of Doors, lockt them up and ciapt Guards before them, and about all the Avenues of the Palace, to keep these spirits out from professing it again.

The News of this Luciferian fall, was quickly spread throughout the City, and from thence into the Kingdome, being related and received with all imaginable gladnesse, while the Members slunk away, muttering to themselves the affront they had received, and laying their heads together how to retrieve themselves, for loath they were to suffer this Violence, or acknowledge their Dissolution, which they would by no means hear of. But what ever they fancied to the contrary, raving at this boldnesse and audaciousnesse of their servant, as they stiled *Cromwell*, he minded it not, but went on in his work.

The Government (such as it was) was now lodged in the Council of Officers of his own making and preferring, and the first thing done by them after this new module, was the Emitting of a Declaration from Him and His Officers, shewing the grounds and reasons of this Dissolution of the Parliament, with an account of their intentions as to the present and future government of the Nation: which that it may appear by how slender a thread the Sword of this lawless Commander hung over the Heads of those Parliament Tyrants, is very requisite to be inserted, it holding forth the present Intrigues of *Cromwell's* designs, and method of ambition.

Our intention is not to give an accompt at this time, of the grounds, which first moved us to take up Arms, and engage our lives and all that was dear

dear unto us, in this cause; nor to mind in this Declaration the various Dispensations through which Divine Providence hath led us, or the witness the Lord hath born, and the many signal testimonies of acceptance which he hath given, to the sincere endeavours of his unworthy Servants, whilst they were contesting with the many and great difficulties, as well in the Wars, as other transactions in the three Nations; being necessitated, for the defence of the same Cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions; the same being evident by former Declarations published on that behalf.

After it had pleased God not only to reduce Ireland, and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his People at Worcester, that these Nations were reduced to a great degree of Peace, and England to perfect quiet, and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of all their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their engagements, as also the great and wonderful things which God had wrought for them; it was matter of much grief to the good and well affected of the Land, to observe the little progresse which was made therein, who thereupon applied to the Army expecting redress by their means, notwithstanding which, the Army being unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agre-

ed, that his Excellency and Officers of the Army, which were Members of Parliament, should be desired to move the Parliament, to proceed vigorously in performing what was amiss in Government, and to the settling of the Commonwealth upon a foundation of justice and righteousness; which having done, we hoped that the Parliament would seasonably have answered our expectations: But finding (to our grief) delays therein, we renewed our desires in an humble Petition to them, which was presented in August last, and although they at that time signifying their good acceptance thereof, returned us thanks, and referred the particulars thereof to a Committee of the House, yet no considerable effect was produced, nor any such progress made, might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was Petitioned for; but on the contrary there more and more appeared amongst them, an aversion to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them, which grew so prevalent that those persons of Honour and Integrity amongst them, who had eminently appeared for God and the publique good, both before and throughout this War, were rendered of no further use in Parliament, then by meeting with a corrupt party to give them countenance to carry on their ends, and for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supreme Government. For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having a new Representative; and when they saw themselves

themselves necessitated to take that Bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the House with persons of the same spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activest amongst them did manifest, labouring to perswade others to a consent therein: And the better to effect this, divers Petitions preparing from several Counties for the continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot by many of them.

For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what fitting means and remedy might be applied to prevent the same: least that this Cause which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to, should languish under their hands, and by degrees, be wholly lost, and the Lives, Liberties, and comforts of his People delivered into their Enemies hands.

All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest People of this Nation, as well as by the Army, and wisdom and direction being sought from the Lord, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means to secure the Cause, which the good People of this Commonwealth had been so long engaged in, and to establish Righteousness and Peace in these Nations.

And after much debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the Supream Authority should

should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved Integrity, and the government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all Gods People, re-form the Law, and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby the people might forget Monarchy, and understanding their true interest in the Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government settled upon a true Basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep up Armies for the defence of the same.

And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a Conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justness of our Proposals on that behalf; and did evidence that those, and not the Act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that Work, the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the World.

The which notwithstanding found no acceptance, but in stead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions; That not any love to a Representative, but the making use thereof, to recruit, and so to perpetuate themselves, was their aim.

They

They being plainly dealt with about this; and told, That neither the Nation, the honest Interest, nor we our selves, would be deluded by such dealings, They did agree to meet again the next day in the Afternoon for mutual satisfaction, it being consented to by the Members present, that Endeavours should be used, that nothing in the mean time should be done in Parliament, that might exclude or frustrate the Proposals before-mentioned.

Notwithstanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more hast then usual, in carrying on their said Act, being helped on therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before, none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same; and being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our aforesaid Proposals would have been rendered void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full Debate of Parliament obstructed;

For preventing whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which must upon the grounds aforesaid have ensued, and whereby at one blow the Interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause, had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations imbroyled in new Troubles, at a Time when our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in War with us; we have been necessitated, though with much reluctancy, to put an end to this Parliament; which yet we have done, (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this Cause above

our names, lives, families, or interests, how dear soever; with clear intentions, and real purposes of heart, to call to the Government persons of approved fidelity and honesty: believing, That as none will expect to gather Grapes of Thorns, so good men will hope, that if persons so qualified, be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous Reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will (by the blessing of God) be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts, who have been panting after these things.

Much more might have been said, if it had been our desire to justify our selves, by aspersing others, and raking into the Mis-government of Affairs; but we shall conclude with this, That as we have been led by necessity and Providence, to act as we have done, even beyond and above our own thoughts and desires, so we shall and do, in that of this great work which is behind, put our selves wholly upon the Lord for a blessing; professing we look not to stand one day without his support, much less to bring to pass one of the things mentioned, and desired, without his assistance: And therefore do solemnly desire and expect, That all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, would wait for such issue as he should bring forth, and to follow their businesse with peaceable spirits; wherein we promise them protection by his assistance.

And for those who profess their fear and love to the Name of God; that seeing, in a great measure for their sakes, and for righteousnesse sake, we

have taken our lives in our hands, to do these things, they would be instant with the Lord, day and night on our behalfs, that we may obtain grace from him. And seeing we have made so often mention of his Name, that we may not do the least dishonour thereunto: which indeed would be our confusion, and a stain to the whole profession of godliness.

We beseech them also to live in all humility, meekness, righteousness, and love one towards another, and towards all men; that so they may put to silence the ignorance of the foolish, who falsely accuse them; and to know, that the late great and glorious dispensations, wherein the Lord hath so wonderfully appeared in bringing forth these things, by the travel and blood of his Children, ought so to oblige them, so to walk in the Wisdome and love of Christ, as may cause others to honour their holy Profession, because they see Christ to be in them of a Truth.

We do further purpose before it be long, more particularly to shew the Grounds of our Proceedings, and the Reasons of this late great Action and Change, which in this We have but hinted at.

And we do lastly declare, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Committees, and all other Civil Officers, and Publique Ministers, whatsoever, within the Common-wealth, or any parts thereof, do proceed in their respective Places and Offices, and all persons whatsoever, are to give Obedience to
them

them as fully as when the Parliament was sitting.

Signed in the Name, and by the
Appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and
his Council of Officers.

Whitehall the 22.
of April, 1663.

William Malyn, Secret.

To ingratiate now vvith the *Presbyterian* vvho yet kept up their form of Church Worship and vvere the most of one publique persvasion, all disturbances in Churches vvere prohibited the Phanatick licenciousnesse of the Army, vvhich svvarmed vvith *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*, and *Ranters*, and vvere novv mad to be seizing all the remaining Revenue of Church Lands, in *Glebe*, *Tithe*, or *Impropriations*. And to this purpose Addresses vvere eagerly carried on, such hopes being underhand given them, to strengthen the hands of this *Dictator* in carrying on the vvork of *Sion*.

He vvvas also complemented by the *French* Ambassadour *Bourdeaux*, vvho had made applications to the Parliament, but vvvas doubtfull of effecting his Errand vvith those highest and Mightiest States vvho vvere grovvn formidable not only to the *Dutch*, but to his Master, vvho willingly courted

courted them to prevent their closing vvith his Rebels of *Bourdeaux*, onely *Oliver* as vve have seen valued them no more then *Scountrels* or *Rake Shames*, nor vvould give ear to any more Enemies of Monarchy.

Being thus by force posselt of the Supreme povver, after he had held it some fevv dayes, to shevv the absur'd and ridiculous State *Caprichio's* of the Council of Officers vvho as yet managed the Civil Authority, he transmitted it to a new Council of State, made up of the supremest of them, and some former *Juncto* men, vvho by Proclamation commanded all Officers to execute their Trusts, as formerly, and required the same obedience; to commute with which they abated the Tax from 120000. to 90000. *per mensem*. It was now remarqued that many great Fires ushered in this Incendiaries Usurpation.

This Council of State did next give birth to that Monster of the little Parliament, which like an abortive Cub was cast by *Cromwell*, and son ly and vainly lick'd by *Harrison*, both which had most different ends on this Convention, in the one a Temporal, in the other a Spiritual Pride and Covetousness, (though not altogether purified from the Deceits of the World) worked in this mysterious knack of a new and unheard of Legislative Authority, who by the Name of men of Integrity and Fidelity to the Cause of God, were by a bare summons from *Oliver* called to the Settlement of the State, that was, to be Stirrups
or

or Foot-steps to the Throne whereon *Cromwell* should tread, they being abject and mean people, being such as were named by the Officers, that is, by *Cromwell's* Agents to this Council, and of most destructive Principles to all Community and Society, either as Men or Christians. It is observable, that *Cromwell* who utterly rejected the *Rump*-expedient to his instances of a new Representative of filling up the House, by foisting in Elections of their own to which (their Authority standing) they could unquestionably awe the Country, made not nice of it for himself.

According to their Summons, on the 4. of *July*, the Members of approved fidelity, &c. met at the Council Chamber in *Whitehall*, to whom *Cromwell* in a zealous speech much to the purpose of his Declaration, and the occasion of the present Meeting, stult with various citations of Scripture, (I am loath to nauseate the Reader with any more of his Harangues at large) to his, (but far from the) purpose, devolved the supreme Trust, which they translated into more common English, adjourning themselves after a short consultation to *Westminster*, and giving themselves the Title and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, voting Mr. *Francis Rouse* for their Speaker, but with a Collateral Vote that he should continue in the Chair no longer then for a Month; They were persons for the most part of such mean and ignote extractions, that so far were they from being taken notice of by their Shires, each of whom

whom but two or three represented, that they were scarce known in the very Towns they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Excise, then Committees for Sequestration, and the War in the respective Counties, made them infamously known, The rest were of his Partisans in the Parliament and High Court of Justice.

On the 12. of *Decemb.* (as it had been directed by the Counsel of State) the Parliament being Sate, some of the Members stood up one after another; and made a motion for a Dissolution thereof, for that it would not be for the good of the Nations to continue it longer; this Court Ayre almost blasted the men of Fidelity and Committee Blades, who had scarce warmed their Fingers ends in the Government, and were newly settling themselves and their friends in a thriving way, as they had done in their Offices they had passed before, and thereupon they began one after another to make perorations of the Cause of God and the godly people committed to their charge, which they could not tell how to answer to him, if so easily they should give it up, and leave the Common-wealth in such a distraction, as would inevitably ensue, and Major General *Harrison* and *Arthur Squib* (the great Sequestrator of *Haberdaasher-hall*) were very copiously zealous in defence of their Authority: But the Military or Court-party being the Major part, not thinking them worthy of a dispute or longer debate, the
Speaker

Speaker being of their side, rose and left the House and them sitting in it, where to prayers they went, and then resolved to continue sitting.

In the mean time *Rous* the Speaker (with the Mace before him and his Followers) came to *White-hall*, and there resigned the Instrument he gave them, by which they were constituted a Parliament, and gave him likewise to understand how they had left their Fellows: Their surrender was kindly received by *Oliver*, and they thanked for the pains they had taken in the service of the Common-wealth, however he and they had missed of their intentions of the good should thereby have come to the Common-wealth, which a strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the Members had solely hindered; and as to them yet sitting in the Parliament-house, he dispatch'd away Lieutenant Colonel *White* a Confident of his to dislodge them, who accordingly with a Guard of Red-coats came thither, and entering the House demanded them in the Name of the General to depart, for that the Parliament was Dissolved, who replying to the contrary, and telling him they were upon Business, and ought not to be thus disturbed; he asked what Business, they answered, we are seeking of God; Pugh saith he, is that all, that's to no purpose, for God hath not been within these Walls these 12. years, and so fairly compelled them out, muttering with the same wrath and sorrowfull look-backs, as those that had sate 30. times the same term, and could almost have pleaded prescription. N Thus

Thus was the Power emptied from one Vessel to another, as the Scribes and Chaplains of the *Grandeess* phraied it, and could find no settlement, till *Oliver* was called to it by his Council of Officers to supply this gap in Government: and now a Single Person with a Council is the only expedient for the safety of the People, for that there is no trust nor truth in Parliaments, as their often aberrations and failures had sufficiently declared; and it was discouried by the Abettors of this change, that 'twas not Monarchy which was quarrelled at, but the corruptions and abuses of it, in its unlimited, unbounded Prerogative, all which would be avoided, by the circumscription of it in a Protector, by his Council and a new Instrument of Government, and the supreme power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their Session the Sovereign Authority should reside.

So they said, and so they did, for after 4 dayes time (in which *Feak* and his Freaking Partitans were almost run from their wits in rage and madnesse) *Cromwel* was appointed and declared for Protector of this Infant Common-wealth (and it was a tedious interval to him) the *Chancery* Court at *Westminster-hall* being prepared for the Ceremony of the Instalment in this manner, after the usual seeking of God by the Officers of the Army.

The Protector about one of the clock in the afternoon came from *White-hall* to *Westminster*

to the *Chancery* Court, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal of *England*, Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges in their Robes; after them, the Councel of the Common vvealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns; then came the Protector attended vvith many of the cheif Officers of the Army; a Chair of State being set in the said Court of *Chancery*, the Protector stood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large vvriting in Parchment in the manner of an Oath, vvas read; there being the povver vvith vvich the Protector vvas invested, and howv the Protector is to govern the three Nations, vvich the Protector accepted of, and Subscribed in the face of the Court, and immediately hereupon sat down covered in the Chair; the Lords Commissioners then delivered up the Great Seal of *England* to the Protector, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which the Protector returned immediatly to them again: The Court then rose, and the Protector was attended back as aforesaid, to the Banquetting house in *White-hall*, the Lord Mayor himself uncovered carrying the Svword before the Protector all the vvay; and coming into the Banquetting-house, an exhortation vvas made by Mr. *Lockyer*, after vvich the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed.

The Instrument or Module framed to be the Foundation of this present Government ; was chiefly made up of these following heads ,

That the Supreme Legislative Authority be and reside in a single Person, and the People in Parliament , the Execution of that power to be in the Protector, with the advice of his Council , not to exceed Twenty and One. All Proceedings to run in the Name and Stile of the Protector, and all Honours , Offices, and Titles to be derived from him, that he may pardon all Offences but Treason and Murder. The Militia during the Parliament shall be in his and their hands, but in the Intervals only in his and his Councils. He and his Council to make War and Peace with forraign Princes. Not make new Laws or abrogate old without Consent of Parliament. A Parliament to be called within six Months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner , which the Protector shall not dissolve without consent in Parliament , till after 5. Months. The Parliament of English to consist of 400. to be chosen by more equal distributions, in Counties and Boroughs ; of Scotch 20. and so many of the Irish. The Summoning of the Parliament to passe under the Seal of the Commonwealth, to the Sheriffs ; and if the Protector omit or deny that , then the Commissioners of the Seal, be held under pain of High Treason, to issue out such writs, and in case of failure in him, the High Sheriffs. (and some other By-blows concerning the equality,

and fairness of Elections under great penalties.) No Royalist, Irish Rebels or Papists to be capable of being Elected, and in case they be, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their goods. None to be elected under the Age of 21. years, nor unless he be a man of Integrity, a lover of God, and of good conversation. None to have voices in Election but such as were worth 200. pounds. The Elections to be forthwith transmitted to the Council of State, by the Secretary of the Commissioners, & in case of dispute to the Council of State. Sixty to make a Quorum. The Protector if need be to call Parliaments between the Intervals thereof. Bills offered to the Protector, if not assented to by him within 40. days, to passe into Laws notwithstanding. The Protector with the Advice of his Council, in case of death, or Breach of trust, to substitute new Privy Counsellors. A Competent Revenue to be settled for the maintenance of Ten thousand Horse and 15. thousand Foot, and the Navy, and not to be altered or lessened but by the Advice of the Council, & upon the disbanding of them the money to be brought to the Exchequer. No new Levies, nor Laws to be made without consent in Parliament. All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded. Oliver Cromwell to be the present Protector. All places of trust, and Office to be in the Protectors disposal; if in Interval of Parliament, to be approved and confirmed in Parliament. The Rest; for the purity and toleration

toleration of Religion, out of which the Papist and Protestant were to be exempted, and all Laws in favour of them to be abrogated. All Sales of Parliament to be confirmed. Articles of War to be made good. And lastly, the Protector and his Successor to be bound by Oath to observe these present Articles, and to uphold the Peace and Welfare of the Nation; which Oath was in hæc verba,

I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; and in all things to the best of my understanding, govern the Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customes; to seek their peace, and cause Justice & Law to be equally administered.

The Feat needed no more security, as good altogether as its Authority, in this following Proclamation, which was published throughout Englan^d, Scotland, and Ireland, in these words,

Whereas the late Parliament Dissolved themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities; the Government of the Common-wealth of England Scotland and Ireland, in a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas Oliver Cromwell Captain General of all the Forces of this Common-wealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary

cessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every Person or Persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayor, Bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.

This Miscellany of the Laws, and new projections, suted a great many humours and different persuasions of the Phanaticks, Independents, Anabaptists and others, being the second part of the Alchoran. And because there is occasion for it, we will discourse a little of the present State of Religion, and what opinion Cromwel best affected. The Orthodox Protestants were wholly suppressd, and yet some Reverend persons, as Dr. Usher the Bishop of Armagh, and Dr. Brownrig the Bishop of Exeter received some shews of respect and reverence from Him, which he more manifestly boasted in the funeral Expences of the Learned Usher, and this to captate a Reputation of his Love to Scholars, and the meek, modest, and vertuous Clergy. The Presbyterian was rather tolerated then countenanced, and yet such of them as would comply with his Court greatnesse, were much in his eye and his favour; for others of them he cared not, pleasingly expressing himself how he had brought under the Pride and Arrogance of

that Sect, making those that would allow no liberty to others, sue for it for themselves. The Independents and Anabaptists he loved and preferred by turns, and was most constant to them, as the men that would and did support his Usurpation; only he could by no means endure the Fifth Monarchy men, though by their dotages he had raised himself to this height; and therefore *Feak* and *Rogers*, were by him committed to Prison in the Castle of *Windsor*, where they continued a long while, and not only so, but he set *Kiffin* the Anabaptist whom he had taken out of design into his favour, with his party, together by the ears, with *Feaks*, to the raising of a Feud between them, the Ballance of his Security in the Government. The like he did betwixt the Presbyterian & the Independent, a subdivided Schisme from the Church of *England*, as *Feaks* and *Kiffins* were from Independency; whom when out of his zeal to the Unity of Christian Religion, he seemed to bring together, to compose and accommodate all Differences; in the near probability of such expedients, he would divide and more irreconcilably sever and alienate. And this was all his practical Devotion. But to return;

Great shooting of Guns at night, and Volleys of Acclamations, were given at the close of this mock solemnity by *Cromwell's* Janizaries, while the Cavaliers were more joyfully disposed at the Hopes of the Kings Affairs, but no body of any Account giving the Usurper a good word or mis-
ki-

kiditche with his greatness, save what was uttered in Fur by my Lord Mayor, and the Complices in this Fact, who tickled his ears with the Eccho of the Proclamation done with the usual Formalities, These Triumphs so disgusted *Harrison* (as also Col. *Rich*) that he withdrew himself from the Gang and turned publique Preacher or Railer against his Comrade *Oliver*, who was glad to be rid of such a busie and impertinent Assistant in the moduling of Government: so *Cromwell* had now two Common-wealth-contradivided Factions against him, the old and the new Parliaments, and therefore it nearly concerned him to make much of the Anabaptist and Sectary, which now succeeded Independency as the Religion maintained and favoured above all other, and *Kiffin* a great Leader and Teacher, was now in great request at the Court at *White-hall*, and contrarily Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. was look'd on askue, as also Sir *Arth. Hazilrig*, and *Bradshaw*, and *Scot*, and so the *Fabel* builders were confounded one amongst another.

The Council appointed by the Officers, or taken rather by himself, by whose advice he was to govern, were 14. at first.

Lord <i>Lambert</i> .	Sir <i>Charles Wolsley</i> .
Lord Viscount <i>Lisle</i> .	Col. <i>Philip Jones</i> .
General <i>Desbrow</i> .	<i>Francis Rous</i> Esquire.
Sir <i>Gilbert Pickring</i> .	<i>Richard Major</i> Esquire.
Major General <i>Skippon</i> .	<i>John Lawrence</i> Esquire.
Sir <i>Anth. Ashley Cooper</i> .	Col. <i>Edward Montague</i>
<i>Walter Strickland</i> Esq;	Col. <i>William Sydenham</i> .

I should have mentioned the Dutch War in its place, which aggrandized him with the usual victorious success; but because, he was never personally engaged in the Service, but owed this Garland, as he did the glory of *Dunbar* to the noble General *Monk*, and wore but a second-hand Triumphal Robe; I will not constellate Him with that Hero's Splendor and Brightness of Fame.

That which properly concerns *Cromwell* is rather the Dishonour of that War, the Peace that ensued the Conclusion of it; for the Stomach of that Nation had been so humbled by several great losses, their Trade so spoyle, and their Subjects so impoverish'd, that it was thought impossible for them to have equipped another Fleet, able to look our Navies in the Face; Withall there were so many Discontents and Divisions in that popular State, that they were ready to ruine themselves without any of our help, yet did this puny and unfledged Prince come to a Treaty and agreement with them, upon most mean and inconsiderable Terms, when it had been no question but another rub at Sea, or beleaguering their Ports; would have brought them down to the Humble Complement of Our faithful Tributaries, which of how great advantage it might have been to the Trade, and consequently the greatnesse of this Kingdome, I take not upon me to determine.

His next Affair was a Conclusion of a League with the Queen of *Sweden*, which he transacted
by

by the Embassy of the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, who being commissioned at his Departure by the foolish Parliament, was invested with new Credentialls from *Cromwell*, whom accordingly he owned as his most serene Highness his Master.

But that which he most aspected, was the two neighbouring potent Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, with one whereof he must of necessity quarrell, and so spend the ill blood, and convey away those humors which were so redundant in the old Soldiery, both of the Kings and *Essexes* Army, and if not employed in some forraign war, would create him trouble at home; this the French Cardinal, newly restored to the administration of that Monarchy, timely foresee, and therefore a Treaty was privately and industriously carried on here by Mounfieur *Bourdeaux Newville*, to an amicable Association and League against the *Spaniard*. *Cromwell's* Covetousnesse and thirst of Gold prevailing against his Interest and Ambition and thirst of Malice and Mischief against the Royal Family, which was now shaded under the *French Flower de Lyzes*, whereby all persons expected an Invasion from hence of that Kingdome, that if it were possible for his Treason, he might drive it out of the World.

But *Mazarine's* Golden expedient, & temporary Medium, of shifting the King and his Relations out of that Kingdome, by vertue of the said League, wholly swayed and inclined him to a War against *Spain*, which not long after was commenced:

The

The greater invitation thereto being Three ships pretended *Hamburgers*, but laden with the King of *Spain's* Peices of Eight, whether for his Account or no uncertain, that had been newly stayed and seized by the Court of Admiralty, at the prosecution of one *Violet a Goldsmith*: and notwithstanding the *Spanish* Ambassador, *Don Alonso de Cardenas*, protested and strugled against it, were carried to the *Tower*, and there minted to the Sum of 400000. *Sterl.* This and other moneys in the *Exchequer*, gave the greater courage to his Ambition, and his raw and unsetled Usurpation. He had also now accepted satisfaction from the King of *Portugal*, and was entred into League and Friendship with Him.

How many are the troubles, cares, and miseries of Tyrant greatness. No sooner is one design, one passion gratified and accomplished, but another disquiet and danger invades or perplexes Him. No sooner had he sacrificed to his Covetousness, but now he must offer Victims to his cruelty the next Assurance of his hated Throne. There is in the Labyrinth of Vice, as in the orderly Frame of Arts and Sciences, a Circle, a *κυκλο-πονησία*, a Spherical Motion from one evil to another, till the last terminates at the beginning, their qualities and quantities being only altered, augmented, or diminished by Time or other circumstances.

From the deep Design of forraign *Mines*, He next converted his thoughts upon a Home-spun Plot.

Plot. A horrible Practice of Machivilian Policy, and Art of Empire, with which even just Scepters have been polluted, and stained by some unhumane Ministers of State, upon pretences of preventing danger (who stand chargeable even with the Loyal blood this Leach sucked through their Conduits) to entrap and engage innocent persons (upon Suspicion of others of the same party, who are obnoxious to the Government) in Machinations and Conspiracies of their own forming and contrivance; and by their Emissaries betray and then condemn them. This was the first bloody remarque of *Cromwell's* Prancing, managed by his Secretary *Thurloe*, who drew in Col. *John Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowell* two eminent Royalists, into his snare of conspiring the Death of the Protector with others, who confessed the intention, for which they were both condemned by a High Court of Justice; (*Cromwell* not daring to trust the Laws or a Jury, the Birthright of *Englishmen*, no more then did the *Juncto* of Regicides) and the first beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, and the other hanged at *Charing-Crosse*; the Collonel declaring, That he was so far from having hand or heart in it, or any encouragement from the King (as was falsely suggested) that he feared he should not dye right in his favour as being but suspected, of that (though so just) assassinate: it being below His Majesties Honour and Religion. Mr. *Vowell* referred his Cause, and his unjust Judges, and the Tyrant to Heavens Tribunal.

This

This was the Rozin, there wanted now the Consent of the People in Parliament, to fiddle his Instrument. He resolved therefore to call one forthwith, for the Nation began to murmur at him (and some openly to refuse obedience) and to forget the pleasing acquiescence in the change he had made, since they saw he made it only for himself. The Nine days wonder was over, and they had recovered themselves to a fresh sense of their Slavery (which might afterwards stupifie and benum them) before the several opposite parties of Royalists, and Common-wealth-men, could understand one another, and bandy both against Him.

Having now plotted and secured the Elections of as many Sectaries, and of his Party to the ensuing Parliament, as his young Interest could procure him, in the Month of *July*, to recreate himself and his Familiar *Thurloe*, with some robust and jogging Exercise, to void the Gravel with which he was much troubled, He would needs shew his skill in driving a Coach with six great German Horses, sent him as a present by the Count of *Oldenburgh*, in *Hide-Park*, but those generous Horses no sooner heard the Lash of the Whip, but away they ran with *Thurloe* sitting trembling in it, for fear of his own Neck, over Hill and Dale, and at last threw down their unexpert Governour from the Box, into the Traces, and there had likely to have trod and drawn him to peices, but Vengeance was yet again pleased to respite him and put him over to a like

like judicial Execution, after his *immature* Death, in 1660. Of this ominous chance many ingenious Songs were made, and one called the Jolt by Sir *John Berkenhead*, which being in Print in a History (and in the *Rump* Songs) though the Author mistaken, is purposely forborn.

The Elections were made one and the same day throughout *England*; most of the Boroughs had but one Burgeis, and the Shires some of them 6. or 7. Knights, all of them under sure qualifications, of not having been or being of the Cavalier party; there were 30. also by the Instrument Elected for *Scotland*; and as many for *Ireland*, all or most of whom were *English* Commanders; on the 3. of *Sept.* they met, and adjourned from the House to the Abbey, where Mr. *Marshall* preached, and so to the *Painted-Chamber*, where they had a message from the Protector to invite them to a Sermon the next day again, when Doctor *Goodwin* Preached; and the Protector came in great State in his Coach, *Cleypole* the Master of Horse, and *Strickland* the Captain of his Guard, bareheaded on both sides; at his entrance into the Church, *Lambert* carried the Sword before him, and *Whitlock* the Purse; the Sermon done, to the *Painted-chamber* again, and there in a Speech he set forth these Heads.

That

' That some few years ago , none would have
 ' thought of such a Dore of Hope ; that he knew
 ' there were yet many Humours and Interests, and
 ' that Humours were above Interest, that the con-
 ' dition of *England* was like *Israel* in the Wil-
 ' derneis (of which the Sermon was) that this
 ' was a Healing day, there was neither Nobleman,
 ' nor Gentleman, nor Yeoman, before known
 ' by any distinction, we had not any that bore Rule
 ' nor Authority, but a great Contempt of Magi-
 ' stracy and Christ's Ordinances ; that the Fifth
 ' Monarchy was highly cryed up by persons who
 ' would assume the Government, but that desired
 ' thing wanted greater manifestation then appear-
 ' ed for such men to change the Authority by (and
 ' this directed at the late Parliament.) He desired
 ' this Honourable Assembly to remedy all these
 ' Disorders, shewed that the wars with *Portugal*,
 ' *French* and *Dutch*, do and did eat up the As-
 ' sessments, that swarms of Jesuits were crept in
 ' to make divisions, which were grown so wide
 ' that nothing but his Government could remedy
 ' them ; and let men say what they will, he could
 ' speak it with comfort before a greater then any
 ' of them. Then he shewed what he had done
 ' during his Government, First, his endeavour of
 ' reforming the Laws, having joyned all Parties
 ' to assist in that great work ; next, his filling the
 ' Benches with the ablest Lawyers; then his Regu-
 ' lation of the Court of *Chancery*, & then his Dar-
 ' ling Ordinance for approbation of Ministers
 ' (which

‘ (which hindred all that List from invading the
 ‘ Ministry) by men of both perswasions, Pres-
 ‘ byterians and Independents, &c. And lastly,
 ‘ his being *Instrumental* to call a Free Parlia-
 ‘ ment, which he valued and would keep it so a-
 ‘ bove his Life.

‘ Then he shewed the advantages of the Peace,
 ‘ with the *Dutch*, *Dane*, and *Swede*, and the
 ‘ Protestant Interest, which he would have them
 ‘ improve and intend chiefly; that they were now
 ‘ upon the edge of *Canaan*; that he spoke not as
 ‘ their Lord, but their fellow servant, and then
 ‘ bid them go and chuse their Speaker. Which
 they did without presenting of him, his Name
William Lenthall, the old Chairman; and next day
 fell upon the Instrument, as they had Voted, by
 parts as it lay, and questioned the Power; vvhich
Oliver understanding, to put them out of that
 course vvhich touched his Copy-hold, after 9.
 days he came to the Painted Chamber, and send-
 ing for them, declared and asserted four Funda-
 mentals in the instrument, vvhich they vvere not
 to meddle vvith or to alter. 1. *The Government*
by a single person and Parliament. 2. *The Imperpetu-*
ity of Parliaments, or no continued succession. 3. *The*
Militia, which was his only. And 4. *Liberty of*
Conscience; telling them a Free Parli. ment was
 but a term of Reciprocation, for that power which
 made him Protector, made them a Parliament, and
 therefore was very sorry they should go about to de-
 stroy the Settlement, which to prevent, and cease such

Debates (though he denyed any negative voice) he was necessitated to appoint a Test or Recognition of the Government as it was established (by every Member) before they sat again.

This bogled at first 3. quarters of them, especially the Commonwealth-men, and those of the late Long Parliament, so that of four hundred and odd there appeared but two hundred, but were made up at last three hundred, for the old ones would not be baulked so, and fell afresh upon the same disputes, and ran out the Articles, resolving to put the whole judgement of the House upon them, into one entire Bill, and so present it, but in truth to spin out time, and work upon the Protectors occasions for money, which was proposed in the House, and coldly and slowly considered.

Just at their sitting down, the Protector published several Ordinances, which being passed and bore date before; were to pass as authentique as Acts by the Instrument, one for paying the money into the Treasury, that was raised for the propagation of the Gospel in *Wales*, another for making Soldiers free of all Corporations, and to exercise any Trades; Another to turn out all honest men under the notion of scandalous Preachers and Ministers, Common-Prayer being their chiefest Imputation; and a fourth to survey Kings Lands, &c. and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters, which sales those many changes of power had much retarded and depretiated. The more occult
cause

cause of the publication of these Ordinances, was to let the Parliament understand that *Oliver* took his *Instrument* to be in a good case, and sufficiently warranted already.

In this Convention *Lambert* laboured Tooth and Nail to have the Instrument confirmed, for by that the Protectorate was left undetermined and Elective, threatening them that if this Parliament would not, they would call 4. or 5. Parliaments one after another till it was Enacted; (the same Art of menacing which *Oliver* used to the preceding Juncto) but that not prevailing (the Parliament dissolved) by his Interest in the Army, He procured Addresses both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as well as here, declaring their Resolution to stand by this Government in defence of the Protector's Life and Dignity against all Opposition; which in this Stratocracy was to be as good a Security as Parliamentary Assent. There were some Superiour Officers, as Lieut. Col. Majors, & Captains, who were yet for a Commonwealth, who had private Meetings, and contrived the seizing this Rebell, and deliver him to the Justice of the Parliament: but by *Pride's* Discovery, who was made privy to this business, they were prevented, and their Commissions only taken away; *Cromwell* not willing by severer punishments to make a noise that there was such a potent Faction in the Army.

Lambert was very officious in this matter, as neither resenting the late affront put upon him by

Cromwell (when he advanced *Fleetwood* in his Place to the Supreme Command in *Ireland*, though with a lesser Title then *Lambert*, who made magnificent preparation for his investiture in the Lieutenantship, and would suffer no Diminution of that Honour) nor *senting* his future designs and cheats , as to his promised Succession to the Sovereignty here. But I must Retrospect a little having omitted some things of Concernment to pursue the former discourse.

Cromwell now supplied the Benches of the Court at *Westminster*, with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publique service , and Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate*, *Hugh Windham* were made Serjeants , and Mr. *Hales* one of the Justices of the *Common-Pleas*, where *St. Johns* yet sat, and of the Cabinet to his Protector besides ; having preferred his Man *Thurloe* (his Secretary at the *Hague*) to be his Secretary of State, the Candle or Light of that Dark-Lanthorn, which *St. Johns* was said to be in these mysterious times of *Cromwell*, in all his attempts and designs of consequence and moment.

The Dutch Peace was also concluded on by the Ambassadors and the Commissioners of the said Council for the Protector , between whom this private Article was agreed , that the Prince of *Aurange* should never be restored to the Dignities , Offices , and charge his Ancestors held and enjoyed, and this was urged for the better conservation

vation of the Peace which would in his Restitution be endangered, because of his Relation to the King.

The Protector dined in great State upon an Invitation from the Lord Mayor, &c. at *Grocers-Hall* the 8. of *February* being *Ashwednesday*, a very unsuitable day for any Festival but his Entertainment, who inverted all things, the streets, being railed from Temple Bar thither, the Liveries in their Gowns in their gradual standings awaiting Him; he was met at the said Gate by Alderman *Viner*, the Lord Mayor, who delivered him the Sword there, and having received it from him back again, bore it on Horseback before him all the way; through which the same silence was kept, as if a Funeral had been *en passant*, and no doubt, it was that muteness which *Tacitus* mentioned in *Tiberius*, *quale Magna Ira vel magni metus est silentium*, no appreciations or so much as a How do ye, being given during the Cavalcade. After Dinner he was served with a Banquet, in the conclusion whereof he Knighted Alderman *Viner*, and would have done the same to the Recorder *Steel*, for his learned Speech of Government, calculated and measured for him, but he for good Reasons avoided it; My Lord Maior was forced to carry it home, and anger his Wife with it, who had real Honour both in her Name and Nature. *Oliver* at his return had the second course of a Brick-bat, from the top of a House in the *Strand* by *St. Clements*, which light upon his Coach, and almost

almost spoiled his Digestion with the daringness of the affront, search was made but in vain, the person could not be found, and vengeance was not yet from Heaven to rain upon him.

He published a little after an Ordinance for the Trial and Approbation of Ministers, wherein *Philip Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Hugh Peters*, *Mr. Manton*, and others, were named Commissioners, the question these men put to the Examinants, was not of Abilities or Learning, but grace in their hearts, and that with so bold and saucy Inquisition, that some mens spirits trembled at their Interrogatories, they phrasing it so, as if (as was said of the Council of *Trent*) they had the Holy Ghost in a Cloak Bag; or were rather *Simon Magus* his own Disciples; and certainly there were never such *Symoniacks* in the World, not a living of value, but what a Friend or the best purchaser was admitted into, to which humane learning even where a former right was, was a good and sufficient Bar; no less to the ruine then scandal of the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Religion and Professors thereof; several ignorant bold Laicks being inducted into the best Spiritualities, as best consisted with *Olivers* Interest, which depended upon the Sectary, and their hideous divisions in Religion. To return;

During those Protectoral Intrigues, the King's Interest had got such footing again in *England*, that all, or most of the Gentlemen and Counties thereof, were engaged for it, and therefore while

Lambert

Lambert managed one Province, the Affairs of the Parliament, wherein *Oliver* would not descend so low, as to be pragmatistical, and Sceptically busy with their Debates against His power, as wrested and usurped from the people; He was mainly intent upon the proceedings of the Royalists, the particulars whereof he had betrayed to him weekly, a constant correspondence being held betwixt Him and one *Manning* a Retainer, and Under-Secretary to the King at *Colen*, his Father being killed in his Service at *Alresford* in the year 1644.

The price of this Treason was no lesse then 6000. *l.* a year, most whereof came to the King by this fellows hands, as sent over by his and his friends procurement, but on purpose by so notable a service in the Kings necessities, to scrue himself into the secrets of His Majesties designs.

Hence came the Western Association and Attempt of the noble *Penruddock* in the West, to be so suddenly defeated, with the like Insurrections in several parts of *England* in the year 1654. For upon certain notice of the days appointed for their rising, *Cromwell* to be before hand with them gave out supposed and false days, and made the like Appearances, particularly at *Shrewsbury*, by which means the Confederates came to perceive there was some Treachery among themselves, and did then wisely desist from the danger of taking publique Arms against Him; For a fuller accompt of all which, I must refer the Reader to the Histories

ries of the Times lately published, though I should take notice of his cruelty against those unfortunate Gentlemen.

The Event of this, by which he had overreached the King in his own designs, and the Hopes of his rich successes in the *West-Indies* (by robbing another Prince) whether his Fleet and Army under General *Pen* and *Venables* was now arrived, (which also I shall only mention, for the Story is trite and vulgar) made *Oliver* most blith and confident, and his Court of Beggars and such like mean people, very gay and jocund; A great deal of State was now used towards him, and the *French* Cringe, and other ceremonious pieces of gallantry and good deportment, which were thought unchristian and favouring of Carnality, introduced in place of austere and down looks, and the silent Mummery of Starch'd and Hypocritical gravity, the only becoming Dress (forsooth) of Piety and Religion. He had now a Guard of Halberdiers in Gray Coats dyed with black Velvet; over whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; and a Lord Chamberlain *Sir Gilbert Pickering*; Two Masters of Requests, *Mr. Bacon* and *Mr. Sadler*; a Master of his Horse his Son *Claypool*; and generally all persons of Honour both to His own person, and his Wives, who very frugally Huswifed it, and would nicely and finically tax the expensive unthriftiness (as said she) of the *Other Woman* who lived there before her. But I must not engage in her impertinencies, though a many pretty stories might be told

of this obsolete *Princeſſe*.

It will be requiſite to ſpeak ſomething of his manner and courſe of Life, now raiſed to a very neer fruition of the Sovereignty, this being the Solſtice of his Fortunes. His Cuſtome was now to divert himſelf frequently at *Hampton-Court*, (which he had ſaved from Sale, with other Houſes of the Kings for his own greatneſſe) whether he went and came in poſt with his Guards behind and before, as not yet ſecure of his Life from the juſtice of ſome avenging hand; Here he uſed to hunt, and at the fall of a Deer, where he would be ſure to be preſent, embrue his hands in the blood of it, and therewith aſperſe and ſprinkle the Attendants: and ſometimes to cokes the neighbouring Ruſticks, give them a Buck he had hunted, and money to drink with it; His own Diet was very ſpare and not ſo curious, except in publique Treatments, which were conſtantly given every Monday in the Week, to all the Officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he dined with them, and ſhewed a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cuſhions, and putting live Coals into their Pockets and Boots; A Table being likewiſe ſpread every day of the Week for ſuch Officers as ſhould caſually come to Court, and this was the greateſt expence, which and other charges of the Government, he levyed as yet by his and his Councils Ordinances, which were as duely and reſpectfully obeyed as Acts of Parliament.

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With

With these Officers while he seemed to disport himself, taking off his Drink freely, and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity, He did meerly lye at the Catch of what should inco-
 gitantly and with such unsuspected provocation fall from their Mouths, which he would be sure to record and lay up against his occasion of reducing them to the Speakers Memory, who were never like to forget the prejudice and damage they had incurred by such loose Discoveries of their Minds and Inclinations.

He was a great Lover of Muck, and entertained the most skilfullest in that Science, in his pay and Family; in that like wicked *Saul*, who when the evil Spirit was upon him, thought to lay and still him with those Harmonious charms; but generally he respected or at least pretended a Love to all ingenious and eximious persons in any Arts, whom he procured to be sent or brought to him, but the niggardlineis and incompetence of his reward, shewed that this was a personated Act of Greatnesse, and that private *Cromwell* yet governed *Prince Oliver*. Among the rest of those *Virtuosi*, He favoured a Poet too, who very elegantly sang his *Marston-Moor Enivision*, but with more misfortune then others, who made the Muses Slaves to his Triumphs, and *Pegasus* to draw His Chariot.

He had twenty other freaks in his head, for sometimes before he had half dined, he would give order for a Drum to beat, and call in his foot Guards,

Guards, like a Kennell of Hounds, to snatch off the meat from his Table, and see them tear it in pieces; the like Joco's and Frisks he would have with other Company; even with some few of the Nobility, when he would not stick to tell them, what Company they had lately kept, when and where they had drank the Kings Health and the Royall Families, bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately, and this without any passion, and as festivous and Drol discourie.

But the sad news of the Defeat at *Hispaniola*, whence he had promised himself Mountains of Gold, and Rocks of Gems, to the maintenance of his Mamalukes, and perpetuating of the Army, coming to his ears, soon after the Marquis *de Leda*, Ambassador from the *Spaniard*, had departed dissatisfied with the preparations here, and other ill news sounding in his ear, that the Commonwealth-Party were very active in the Army, and the Royallists breeding new Designs, he began to cast off the Merry Divil and act the Tyrant altogether, and not without Cause. For;

The effects of this *Parliament* rupture encouraged two most opposite parties to conspire against the *Protector*, the Fifth Monarchists and Cavaliers (as we must so distinguish the Royal Party upon this difference, who) longed for their rightful Sovereign *Charles* the Second, the Fifth Monarchy expected King *Jesus*, the Courtiers and those engaged by them or with them, with *Cromwell* himself, desired King *Oliver*; and every of these

these manifested much impatience, but none of them could attain their Wishes, and when *Oliver* might afterwards he durst not, The *Protector* was no way ignorant of this, and therefore he resolved to deal with the weakest first, which yet by underminings was more dangerous then the other: The Army was corrupted by that Millenary Principle, and that was to be purged, so that as *Harrison* and *Rich* had been laid aside, and not long after committed with *Carew* and *Courtney* into several remote Castles; so now General *Monck* had order to seize Major General *Overton*, and the Majors *Bramston* and *Holms*, and other Officers, and cashier them, after Fines and good Security for their Behaviour; *Overton* was sent up to the Tower, and his Regiment conferred on Colonel *Morgan*; Colonel *Okey*'s Regiment taken from him, and given to a sure Consider, and so the danger from the Army was quickly suppress: Cor-
net but now Colonel *Joyce*, was likewise malecontent at this change, and signified so much to *Cromwell*'s Face, whom he upbraided with his own Service and his faithlesnesse, but escap'd any other Censure then a bidding him be gone; *Cromwell* well knowing him to be one of those mad men that would say or do any thing they were bid.

Now happened occasion, or rather *Cromwell* made it one, for him to shew his zeal to the Protestant cause, and publish himself to the World the Champion or Hector thereof; this was also one secret step and reach to the Crown, by invading

ing the *sacred Title* of the *Defender* of the *Faith*, due only to the Hereditary Sovereigns of *England*. Herein also he aimed, as in the Proverb, to hit two Birds with one stone, not doubting but to find another Mine in the charitable minds and compassion of this Nation towards the parallel suffering of the old *Waldenses* in *Piedmont* to the Irish *Mas-sa-cres*, which were set out and drest here with the greater skill of Butchery, then the Actors could handi-omly do it there, and it was said the Copy was drawn from that Original.

Alderman *Viner* and *Pack* were made Treasurers for this money, which amounted to a very large sum, and reaching the full design of the Protector, a small parcel whereof was now remitted to *Geneva*, the French King having newly before accommodated the businesse, the Duke refusing to admit *Cromwell's* Mediation.

There was another Artifice of the Protectors to set this businesse forward, and to countenance it, which was, Addresses from the Army here and abroad, offering their Service in this common cause of the Protestant Religion, no way doubting but that God in his due time would confound those Enemies of his people, as he had shewn his salvation by themselves, in the same Controversie to that day.

A new Plot was now started, and most of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *England* secured, Sir *Geoffrey Palmer*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Levelace*, Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord *Newport*,
and

and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Lords *Maynard*, *Petre*, *Lucas*, and *Faulkland*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, &c. and this done by *Manning*, whose Villany was not yet discovered, though to render a due account of him, his Treachery was before related. County Troops were now also established for security to his Highness, such Trooper 8*l.* a year pay and more in case of Service, a Captain a 100*l.* and Officers proportionably; and as these new Forces were raised here, so were other old ones disbanded in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in which last place, the disbanded were yet to be the same kind of Militia they being settled in the Rebel forfeited Lands, their Tenure being their Service, and thus that Kingdom was re-peopled. An Agent that had come hither from *Ragotzi* Prince of *Transilvania*, now departed, the Conspiracy betwixt whom and the King of *Sweden*, and the *Swede* and *Cromwel* was just ripe for execution.

The *Spanish* War therefore commencing, the Protector began new practices against the Cavalier party, whose interest and spirit was against his Government as high as ever: he foresaw that by the *French* peace, the King only shifted & changed war from one quarter to another, and was yet as near as ever, and in a more opportune and advantageous posture, for that the King of *Spain* and he would certainly concur against him, and so the Low Countries, his Provinces and Ports be open and at the service of our Sovereign, therefore his party was by all ways, how unjust and tyrannical
 forever

soever to be crusht and suppress: it began with the, Clergy who were neither to keep School, nor cure, nor be Chaplains, except they give signal testimony of their Apostacy from the Church; it next extended to all sorts of men, the revived Act of 1652, forbidding all Cavaliers or such as meant well to the peace of the Kingdom in their subscription to the personal Treaty in 1648. by a new Proclamation to that purpose, from giving voyces of Electing, or to be elected themselves upon their utmost peril: then came out a Declaration for Decimating such who were actually in Arms; and to shew the Reasons of such proceedings against them, *Cromwel* therein taking it for granted, that the whole Mais of them were engaged in the late design of *Penrddocks*, and observing their Malignity to the Government, by refusing to match their Relations but within themselves, and so to propagate the quarrell from one Generation to another; that they supplied their King (as they call'd him) with money, that their Clergy were as refractory as ever; and that therefore since by them the peace so endangered could not be kept, nor the cause and the well affected secured but by keeping up a standing Army by a constant pay, it was requisite the charge should be born by those who caused it.

For the better dispatch of this Affair, He had erected a new Military Authority, like the *Turkish Bashaws*, distributed into several Provinces or Counties, with an unbounded power, *England* being

being now cantoned into this *Hendecharchy*, viz. *Kent* and *Surrey* under Col. *Kelsey*; *Sussex*, *Hants-shire*, and *Berk-shire* under *Goff*; *Gloucestershire*, *Wilts*, *Dorset*, *Somerset*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*, under Col. *Desborough*; *Oxfordshire* *Buckingham*, *Hartford*, *Cambridge*, *Isle of Ely*, *Essex*, *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, under Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; *London*, Major General *Skippon*; *Lincolnshire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*, *Warwick* and *Leicester* under *Whalley*; *Northamptonshire*, *Bedford*, *Rutland* and *Huntingdon*, under villanous *Busler*; *Worcestershire*, *Hereford*, *Shropshire* and *North-wales* under Col. *Berry*; *Cheshire*, *Lancashire* and *Stafford* under Col. *Worsely*; *York-shire*, *Durham*, *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, under Lord *Lambert*; *Westminster* and *Middlesex*, under Col. *Berkstead*, their Commission was to take a Roll and Account of all suspected persons of the Kings party, and such as vvere actually so to receive security of them, in which they vvere to be bound to act nothing against the Government, and to reveal all Plots that should come to their knowledge: they vvere to suppress all Horse-Races, Cock matches, and other Concourses of people, to secure the High Ways, to take engagement from Cavaliers, for their Servants, and Children, and those that did not so, nor give security, to commit to prison, and to rate and receive the mony rising from this Decimation. In short there vvas nothing vvhich they might not do; nor vvhich they did not, such an Arbitrary vast povver they had

had from the Protector. To this purpose a M. Gen. Office was erected in *Fleetstreet*, as other Courts had, where these Recognizances were entred, and all other the like Affairs, dependencies, and concerns thereof entred and Recorded; by this means the Tyrant intended to inform himself of the value and quality of every Estate and person, together with the number of that party in every County throughout the Kingdome. Most of those Loyal persons formerly secured, were hereupon set at liberty, but by another 20. Mile Proclamation driven into the Country, into the bounds of the several Major Generals, who presently took cognizance of them, and summoned them to their respective Residences, they sate sometimes without, other times with some of the old Committees, where they received accounts of Estates, which were rated to the tenth penny yearly. Some bought off that Tax and incumbrance by a present Sum, at three years purchase, which was very acceptable, for money was the thing the Usurper wanted, others looked for a nearer Redemption, and to be constrained to that payment: the well affected and godly people voyced this to be a just and reasonable imposition, for when should they be at quiet, and enjoy themselves in the goods they had got, free from the interrupting endeavour of this old and restless Enemy; so that there wanted not Abettors and Assistants, to this most religious work of the Major Generals; who had ordered in the first place, that no Cavalier should

keep or wear either Arms offensive or defensive but fireightways deliver them, so that they lay a the mercy of whomsoever they met, and at the Discretion and charity of whosoever resorted to their Houses, for what they had left.

The Barbarous Cruelty and Severity of these *Bashaws*, to the Orthodox Clergy, while with the *Hottessse* of the persecution it suffocated the true Religion, did warm and foster the viperous brood of sects and Heresies into monstrous luxuriences; For besides the *Ranter*, who at this time began to infest the Church, and multiply exceedingly, and the *Socinian*, who denied the Divinity of *Christ*; one *Biddle* being infamous for those impious opinions, as *Erbury* formerly a Minister for *Ranting*; the *Quakers* appeared like *Locusts*, and overspread the whole Kingdome, even to the Disquiet of *Oliver* himself, who could not endure to hear of their Anti-Magisterial-principles, the 'chime consisting chiefly of such as had been of the Army or Rebel Faction. The Height of that Phrenzy and Delusion so possessed the haughty mind of one *James Naylor* (as if Pride and Ambition were the reigning secular sins) that he fancied himself to be our Saviour, procuring such Worship to be done him, as was due only to that Blessed Divinity. This Blasphemous Impostor was severely punished by the consent of *Oliver* (who perceived *Lambert*, whose Soldier this was formerly, to stickle for him on design to cajole his party.) But not from any sense of this Impiety, and zeal to *Christ* or his Worship, for he had lately struck a Bargain with

with the *Jews* that *deny* him, but the Ministers who were to dispute with *Ben Israel* their Agent, dissenting from his covetous project, He only gulled them of their earnest money.

By this mixture of subtlety with Cruelty and Rapine of all sorts, he had so establish'd himself, and his formidable greatness engaging in a forraign War with the *French* against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, whither he sent Commissary General *Reynolds* with 6000 men, who joyntly took in *St. Venant & Mardike* in the cloie of the Summer 1647 the latter being put into *English* hands) that the Royal party began truly to dread his mischievous power, the effects whereof were felt also in very remote parts of the World, in the *Polish* and *Danish* War, by his partaking with and assisting to the King of *Sweden* (when he pretended a Mediation between them, having dispatcht Mr. *Rolt* of his Bedchamber, and Colonel *Jephson* to *Carolus Gustavus*, and Mr. now Sir *Philip Meadows*, to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*) to the diverting the *German* Emperour, to the care of his own Dominions, and by that means depriving the *Spaniard* of his aid, and consequently frustrating all His Majesties designs of recovering, his rights to these Kingdoms.

I must omit his Successes by *Blake* at *Porta Ferrina*, and *Sancta Cruz*, for which the *English* valour was famous; as also Sir *Richard Stayners* taking and Spoyling 7. Gallies from the *West-Indies*, laden with Plate, which were substantial

Trophies, and made his power dreadful,

And therefore now he thought it time to shew his Son *Richard* to the World, whom to (avoid the Suspicion of designing the Sovereignty to be Hereditary in his Family, and to amuse *Lambert* (who would not brook other Successor then himself) His Rival if not Superiour now in the affection of the Army he had kept in the Country, in *Hampshire* where he had married the Daughter of one *Major of Southampton*, with a very plentiful fortune, the support and maintenance of him now) among the Converse of the Gentry Royalists, to insinuate into their affections and good liking by some kind of Offices and Civilities he procured from Court, and by his own debonair and affable Dispositions; The first publique Honour done him was the Chancellorship of *Oxford*, in which he was solemnly invested after his Father had purposely resigned it, at *Whitehall*, next he was sworn a Privy Councillor, and made a Colonel in the Army, to have an interest in all parties and parts of the body politique, and not long after, in the next Parliament, after their recess, the first Lord of the other House, and now styled the most noble Lord *Richard*, and rise discourses there were of *Richard* the Fourth, but it proved no more then the story of *Queen Dick*.

His Son *Harry Cromwell* lately married to Sir *William Russells* Daughter he likewise sent in the quality of Lord Lieutenant, to succeed his Son *Law Fleetwood*, in *Ireland*, only *Scotland* could

not

not be taken from General *Monk*, and disposed in the hands of his more confident Relations, *Fleetwood* or *Desborough* being designed for that Conve[n]ment. His Daughters likewise were all married, *Elizabeth* his Darling, before his late Greatness, to a private Gentleman, one Mr. *Cleypole* of *Warwickshire*; his Daughter *Mary* to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, the noble Family of the *Bellasis*; and his younger Daughter *Frances* to Mr. *Robert Rich*, eldest son to *Robert Lord Rich*, and Grandson to *Robert Earl of Warwick*, all three whereof dyed within one year after this unfortunate and unglorious Match. So that he thought he had established his House, but the Foundation being laid in Sand tempered with Blood, the next gust and boisterous Wind blew it like Chaffe, and scattered and dispersed it to nothing.

From this haughty confidence he vvas invited to call another Parliament, and to assume from thence the long avvaited result of his Ambition, the Crow[n] Imperial of *England*. All other things moreover did seem to conspire to the same purpose, except the Levelling Fifth Monarchy party, and *Lambert*: for the Presbyterian and other Settaries, vvho had their hands full of Sacrilegious and Treasonable Penny-vvorths, of Ecclesiasticall, and Crow[n] and Delinquents Lands, vvvere most eagerly desirous of a settlement of the Government by Law, that might secure and confirm their purchases; the more in-

different Royallists preferred any Legal (no manner how or what) Authority, rather then be continually tasked and oppressed by the outrageous unlimited violence of the Major Generals, whom *Cromwell* had on purpose set up; as he did the little or foolish Parliament, to make another Title he gaped at, more acceptable to the people.

As to the Fifth Monarchy men, he had neerly pried into that danger, and seized and took the chief of that party, among whom was *Venner* the *Wine-Cooper*, being engaged somewhat after in a Plot, in a house in *Shorditch*, where some Arms were taken, and and an Ensign with a *Lyon couchant* of the Tribe of *judah* painted in it, having this Motto, *Who shall raise him up?*

And hereupon *Harrison*, *Carew*, *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, *Courtney*, *Portman*, *Day*, and the like, were imprisoned in remote places, as *Col. Overton*, Major *Holms*, and others of the same party, had been seized in *Scotland*, and disbanded by Gen. *Monck*, according to *Cromwell's* Order, and sent up Prisoners to the *Tower of London*.

As to the *Levellers*, he had lately discovered their practices and combinations against him, and had likewise clapt up the chief of them, one Major *Wildman*, in order to his Tryal being taken at *Marleborough*, inditing and drawing Declarations against him; so that they were at a stand and a loss which way to proceed, to the unsettling and overthrow of his Tyrannical power; procured

red by so many tricks and cheats put upon them by him ; so that afterwards when they began private Subscriptions to Petitions, and Addrestes to the Parliament against the Kingship, he peremptorily upon their peril forbid them to intermeddle with their Consultations, and so awed and dashed them, that they never offered any more afterwards, to hold up so much as a Finger against him. *Lambert* was the only impediment, and we shall see him neatly and quietly removed and discarded like the rest of his former Confidants.

This *Olivarian* Parliament brought together by these, means was not lesse awed in its Election by the Major Generals (they themselves and all their friends being returned for Members, while the Gentry and other Honest men being confined or under some qualification or other, could not, or dared not appear, particularly Col. *Berkstead*, and *Kiffin* the Anabaptist, by Voyces of Red-cotes got themselves returned Knights of the Shire for *Middlesex*, with Sir *William Roberts*, and Mr. *Chute* (4 as the Instrument directed ;) then in the Admission to the House, where a Recognition of his Highness and the Government by a single person, with a Guard of Soldiers was ready placed, and unless each Member swallowed the one, he might not pass the other, by which means almost 200. were at the first dash secluded, those within taking no notice of the force, but referring the excluded to the Examination of the Privy Council.

The first Work this Parliament did was their declaring the Justice of the War against *Spain* (the *Cromwellian* party personating the Interest and Honour of the Nation, that they might by that be looked upon for all this garbling, as a due Representative, and to credit their ensuing By-blowes) and a Resolution to assist the Protector in it; And next as the grand and Liminary work to *Oliver's* Regality, *An Act for the renouncing the Title of His Majesty, and the whole Line of King James*; seconded with another for the Security of His Highness person, in which they alledged the peace and safety of the Nation was bound up.

And that this might appear most necessary and opportune, a Plot was hatched by *Cromwell* and *Thurloe*, for further quashing all Levelling and Fifth Monarchy designs against that party; A Book had likewise been lately divulged, styled, *Killing no Murder*, wherein it was proved, that it was most lawful, just, necessary, and Honourable to kill him, and this Printed with the Name of one *Allen* a disbanded Leveller, but so politely and learnedly written, that it intimated a more exact and curious hand; whose ever it was, it scared *Cromwell* almost out of his Wits, and made him betake himself to preventionary Artifices, and fright Assassinsates with his Severity against the supposititious Authors of pretended dangers.

This Scare-Crow was one *Miles Syndercombe*, a disband of *Overton's* in *Scotland* by General *Monck*, a Leveller and Fifth Monarchist, both
which

which parties he conjoyned in this trap, as most feared by him: The wily Arts of *Thurloe*, who set one *Cecil*, and *Trop* of *Cromwell's* Life-Guard, to urge this Male-content into a Conspiracy of The Protector's Death; This was readily assented to, and several Engines and Instruments fixed for that purpose and places appointed, and *Whitehall* Chappel to be fired; all which was from time to time discovered, and *Syndercombe* after the last vain experiment, seized and arraigned, and after a careless defence convicted and sentenced for Treason, which he avoided (as the Coroners Jury gave their Verdict) by poisoning himself in the *Tower* the night before his Execution, and was drawn at a Horse Tail to *Tower-hill*, and inhumed, and a Stake driven through him under the Scaffold.

For this Delivery of his Highnesse the *Parliament* voted a Thanksgiving, and attended him at the *Banqueting-house* in *Whitehall* with a gratulatory Oration, setting forth the Ruine that was intended in that horrible Treason to the whole *Protestant Religion* throughout the World, with the like parasitical designed Falshoods, but to the almost ipoyling the Complement, the Stairs in the ascending broke, and lamed *Richard Cromwel*, and others, who for amends were invited to dinner there upon the Thanksgiving day; and that Courtesy requited by a more gaudy Gift.

For the next day Alderman *Park* (a great Excise Commissioner, and in greater Arrears for it to

30000 l.

30000 *l.* and deep in the *Piedmont* Account) from the advantage of this *Royal* Treat, suddenly started a Motion like a Puppet jerkt with a wire, that in regard of the strange unsettlement and discomposure of the Nation, and the minds of men, and the ill aspect it had upon Forraign Princes; and all Trade; that therefore the Protector might be desired to assume the style of King as the most known and most agreeable Government: and presently tooth and nail the Court party were at it; and after sundry consultations passed a Resolution in order to his being Kinged by the second part of the Instrument, called *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament*, which being now in Debate we must leave to a further account.

The suitable political talk of the party of the Usurper, was now engaged in strained Arguments for a Monarchy in the person of this their Ring-Leader, and this Maxime was broach'd in the News-Book, That there was no everlasting principle in Government as to any particular form; that Government is but a temporary expedient, that it is like *Ultima tabula post Nausfragium*, in the hazzard of the Common-wealth the next shift may be made use of. The same was the inspired reason into the Humble Petition and Advice, which after several debates and resolutions was drawn into that Consistency, the main whereof was to desire the Protector to change that Title for the other of King. On the 9. of *April*, the Parliament

ment having desired a Meeting with him, came to the *Banqueting-house* in *White-hall*, where *Sir Thomas Widdrington* in a Speech, commended the Title and Office of a King, as settled here with Christianity, approved by our Ancestors, consisting with our Laws and Temper of the people, and then presented him with the module of the Humble Petition, &c. To this tender, *Cromwel* in a fit of Devotion, answered, *That it was a weighty matter, and therefore desired space to seek God, that the charge laid upon him was too great for him to bear without His Assistance, that the English were the best people in the World, and required therefore all tenderness and consideration of their Liberties, &c.*

The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him, and receive his Answer, which being insignificant, they upon report thereof resolved to adhere to their Petition, and appointed a Committee of above half the House to attend him, to receive from him his doubts and scruples touching any of the particulars contained in the Petition, &c. and to offer reasons for his satisfaction, for the maintenance of the Resolution of the House, and wherein they cannot satisfy to report. The chief of this Committee were *Mr. Whitlock*, Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, Lord *Braghall*, *Lenshall*, *Lisle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurloe*, *Sir Richard Onslow*, *Sir Charles Woolfley*, &c.

We have through these *Labyrinths* of his shifted Designs, now *clued* him to his *Lustfull* and *adulterous* Usurpation, which the *nocturnal pollutions* of his *Dream* had so long before *fancied* and *acted* in his thoughts.

This was the critical Time, and the very *Juncture* of his accomplishment of all his projections upon the Crown, which now seemed to court his *Browes* by the complemental tender of a Parliament to pick'd and cull'd to his purpose. But it pleased God, to rescue the Honour and Majesty of *England*, from the prophanation of his Temples; by some sudden emergent dangers, and Suspicions he raised in his Breast, and to elude his Royal Phantasmes with Rival and Democrattick apparitions; His Oracles now ceased, and a lying Spirit was in the Mouth of his Prophets, who in their preachments harped upon this Subject. Now that the Reader may know how the whole mystery and cabal of this Businesse was managed by the above mentioned Committee (who would fain have drawn *Oliver* under the yolk of Laws, and retrencht his exorbitant power of the Sword) and *Cromwell* (who feared they would fortifie his Title, and weaken his Tenure, and had notice that *Lambert* laboured in the Debauch of the Army) He is here presented with the sum of that abortive Regal Consultation, which like the Philosophers Stone, or rather the Apples of *Sodom*, vanished and perished in the Attraction.

After

After many Meetings and Conferences together at *White-hall*, the Commissioners being impowered to receive his Highnesses Scruples at his request (the whole Affair being managed with Royal State and respect to him) they came to these Disputes. It was alledged by the Committee who were to offer and make play, that the Title of King had been confirmed by all Parliaments, for 1300. years, and the person, not the name, displeasing to any of them. That it was interwoven with the Laws, and the very consent of this Parliament in being.

To this the Protector answered, that these were svasory not compulsive or convincing Arguments. That the Title of the Protector might be made accommodable to the Laws, by the content of the Parliament, as well as the Title of King was made so by the same; that the Title of King would be displeasing to many godly men, and Officers of the Army, who had declated against the Title and Office.

To these it was replied, *That the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to them. That Invention of Titles was suspected as the Veil or Concealment of some Design against the publique; and that therefore the Parliament of England, had scrupled the new Title of King of Great-Britain, so King James. That if he regarded not his own honour and Greatnesse, yet he should respect the Honour and Reputation of the Kingdome. That the name of Protector had always*

ways been unfortunate to the Kingdome during the Minority of our Princes, and also to themselves. That it being given him by the Soldiery it sounded of Victory. That when the Kingly Title was abolished in the Roman Empire, nothing but confusion followed, nor could the State find Rest, either under Consul, or Dictators, or Prince of the Senate, untill the pleasure and will of Cæsar came to be acknowledged for Law.

Other instances there were of the Commissioners, who severally by order of the Committee delivered their Answers to Him, as namely the reason of the change of the Stile of Lord to King of Ireland in H. 8. time, for the better, and more regular Government of that Nation, and Examples of a neighbouring Protestant Kingdome of Sweden, who had crown'd their Marshal that took up Arms with them against their Sovereign, but their main Argument was drawn from the Statutes of 9 Edw. 4. & 3 H. 7. by which all persons were indemnified that took up Arms for the King in being, which was one and the chief reason said *Whitlock*, why so many at first assisted the King against the Parliament, and would be his Highnesses case and Security. And lastly to his Argument of displeasing many godly men, and that Providence seemed to crosse the introduction of the Kingly Office by a seven years War to the overthrow of it: He was answered that the reduction of the Commonwealth to Monarchy, was a greater Act then from Monarchy to the Protectorate; that in all Governments

ments some men would be unsatisfied, and that therefore his safest way would be to rely on this Settlement by the Parliament. But after all *Cromwell's* Fears surmounted his Ambition, and he told then in a long *Harangue*, that He could not accept the Title of King, being against his conscience.

The Protector having refused the Title of King (awaiting a more opportune time and advantage to reach to that top and height of his ambition, which inwardly tormented him) was now by the *Parliament* to be confirmed in his former dignity, and a Committee called of the Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory part to the Humble Petition and Advice, in respect of the Protector's Oath, his Councils, the Members of *Parliament*, the other House, which was to consist of 60. and odd Lords of *Cromwell's* Election, of which in their place we shall give an Account; all which with some Acts being prepared and finished, the Protector came to the *Painted-Chamber*, and sent for the *Parliament*, where the Speaker tendered him these Acts of State, besides others relating unto Trade, &c. 1. *An Act for Assessment of 60000 l. a Month, for 3. Months, from March, for the three Kingdoms. Another money Act for 50000 l. for three years, at 35000 l. for England, 6000 l. for Scotland, and 9000 l. for Ireland. An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of London, and within 10. Miles thereof; and a whole years Revenue to be paid for every Dwelling, or House built upon any new Foundation since 1620.*
and

(and this was the reason and soul of that Law.) An Act for punishing such as live at high rates and have no visible estates: And lastly for the observation of the Lords Day; there was a Bill for ascertaining and satisfying the Publique Faith, that these Patriots might seem to intend the ease of the people, but it was but once read and committed, and resumed afterwards to as much purpose very briskly by the Council of this Protector. At the Signing of these Cromwel made this short Speech.

I perceive, that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament, to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth, by these Bills for levying of money now brought to me, which I have given my Consent unto; and understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard of the Publick; I do very heartily and thank-fully acknowledge their kindness herein.

The principal substance of the Humble Petition, &c. was this,

1. That his Highness under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate over England, &c. and to govern according unto all things in this Petition and Advice; also, that in his life-time he would ap-
point

point the Person that should succeed in the Govern-
ment after his death. 2. That he would call Par-
liaments consisting of two Houses, once in three
years at farthest. 3. That those persons who are
legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve
in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing
their duties, but by consent of that House whereof
they are Members. 4. In the fourth, was shewn
the qualifications of Parliament-Members. 5.
In the fifth, the Power of the other House. 6.
That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be obser-
ved and kept, and no Laws altered, suspended,
abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by
Act of Parliament, 7. For a constant yearly Re-
venue, ten hundred thousand pounds to be settled for
maintenance of the Navy and Army; and three
hundred thousand pounds for support of the Govern-
ment, besides other temporary supplies, as the
Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of
the Nations to require. 8. That the number of
the Protectors Council shall not be above one and
twenty; whereof the Quorum to be seven, and
not under. 9. The chief Officers of Seate, as
Chancellors, Keepers of the Great Seal, &c. to be
approved of by Parliament. 10. That his High-
nesse would encourage a Godly Ministry in these
Nations; and that such as do revile or disturb them
in the Worship of God, may be punished according
to Law; and where the Laws are defective, new
ones to be made in that behalf. 11. That the
Protestant Christian Religion, and no other; and
that

that a confession of Faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of these Nations ; and none be permitted by words or writings, to revile or reproach the said Confession of Faith, &c.

Which he having Signed ; declared his acceptance in these words,

That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of the greatest burthens, that ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature ; so that without the support of the Almighty, he must sink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of these Nations. This being so, he must ask help of the Parliament, and of those that fear God, that by their Prayers he might receive assistance from God: for nothing else could enable him to the discharge of so great a duty and trust.

That seeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of these Nations, and there being many things which cannot be supplied, without the assistance of the Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them ; not that he doubted: for the same Spirit that had led the Parliament to this, would easily suggest the same to them. For his part nothing would have induced him to take this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care in doing those things, which might really answer the
end

ends that were engaged for, and make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the Interest and preservation of all such as fear God under various forms. And if these Nations be not thankful to them for their care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads.

Yet there are some things wanting that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing vice, and encouragement of virtue; but he spake not this as in the least doubting their progress, but as one that doth heartily desire, to the end God may Crown their work, that in their own time, and with what speed they judge fit, these things may be provided for.

There remained only the Solemnity of the Inauguration or Investiture, which being agreed upon by the Committee and the Protector, was by the Parliament appointed to be performed in *Westminster-hall*; where at the upper end thereof, there was an Ascent raised, where a Chair and Canopy of State was set, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker, with Seats built Scaffold-wise for the Parliament on both sides; and places below for the Aldermen of *London*, and the like. All which being in a readiness, the Protector came out of a Room adjoining to the Lords House, and in this order proceeded into the Hall. First went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen another Herald; the Attorney General; then the Judges (of whom Serjeant

Hill was one, being made a Baron of the Exchequer, June 16.) then *Norroy*, the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury, and the Seal carried by Commissioner *Fiennes*, then *Garter*, and after him the Earl of *Warwick* with the Sword, born before the Protector, Bare headed, the Lord Mayor *Titchborn* carrying the City Sword (being the special of Coaks of the Protector) by his left hand: Being seated in his Chair, on the left Hand whereof stood the said *Titchborn* and the Dutch Ambassador, the French Ambassador and the Earl of *Warwick* on the Right; next behind him stood his Sons *Richard*, *Fleetwood*, *Cley-pole*; and the Privy Council; upon a lower descent stood the Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Lords *Montagne* and *Whislock* with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker (Sir *Thomas Widdrington*) in the name of the Parliament, presented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter, at the Delivery of these things, the Speaker made a short Comment upon them to the Protector, which he divided into four parts, as followeth.

1. The Robe of Purple, *This is an Emblem of Magistracy and imports Righteousness and Justice: When you have put on this Vestment, I may say you are a Gown-man. This Robe is of a mixt colour, to shew the mixture of Justice and Mercy. Indeed, a Magistrate must have two hands,* Plect-entem

entem, & amplectentem, to cherish and to punish.

2. The Bible, it is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happinesse to be well vers'd. This Book of Life consists of two Testaments the Old and New: the first shews Christum Velatum, the second Christum Revelatum; Christ veiled and revealed: it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.

3. Here is a Scepter, not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient use in this kind. It's said in Scripture, that The Scepter shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other Kingdoms; Homer the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes Scepter-Bearers.

4. The last thing is a Sword, not a Military but Civil Sword; it is a Sword rather of defence then offence: not to defend your self only but your people also. If I might presume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this, Ego sum domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum, I am the Protector to protect my people.

This Speech being ended, the Speaker took the Bible and gave the Protector his Oath: afterwards Mr. Manton made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government, and people

ple of the three Nations, to the protection of God. Which being ended the Heralds by Trumpets proclaimed his Highness Protector of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all persons to yeild him due obedience. At the end of all, the Protector with his Train carried by the Lord *Sherard Warwick's* Nephew, and the Lord *Robert's* his eldest Son, returned in the same posture, the Earl of *Warwick* sitting at one end of the Coach against him, *Richard* his Son, and *Whitlock* in one, and the Lords *Lisle* and *Montague* in the other Boot, with Swords drawn, and the Lord *Claypool* Master of the Horse, led the Horse of Honour in rich Caparisons to *White-hall*. The Members to the Parliament House, where they prorogued their sitting to the Twentieth of *January*.

He vvas now settled and established in his first assumed Dignity, to the satisfaction of some part of the Army, only *Lambert* vvas gruelled with that clause in it which gave the Protector power to name his Successor. Whereby he saw himself deprived and frustrated of his Hopes, and that Contract that had passed between them. *Cromwell* therefore to secure himself, set the Army Regiment after Regiment to subscribe Addresses congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readinesse to assert Him therein vwith their lives and Fortunes; being the very same Method he had used before to prevent any Designs against him
in

in the Army, when he vvas left upon his ovvn bottom by the Parliament before.

In the mean time a mote potent enterprize was formed by the Kings Interest, and the appearance of the Marquis of *Ormond* (as my Lord *Wilmot* from beyond Sea, was engaged before in *Pennrddock's* rising in the West) about *Sussex*, whether some *English* forces for *Flanders* in the Kings pay and service were to have been transmitted; but by the traiterous discovery of two former eminent Royallists, which *Cromwell* by great pensions had corrupted, one a Knight, the other a Minister, and one that a hand in the killing of *Rainsborough*, the whole Intrigue was discovered, the Marquis narrowly escaping back again to the King, who was dispatching General *Marsin* with his Forces then in readines.

He was no sooner rid of the danger of this, but he was puzzled with *Lambert's* Cabal, who had inveigled and almost debauch'd *Fleetwood* and *Derborough*. *Cromwell's* nearest Relations with his but emulous pretended Democrattick principles; so that *Cromwell* (having dissolved the Parliament at their access in *January*, when according to the new Instrument they met in a full House, who began and were resolved to undoall again that had passed during their Seclusion, nor would own the other House of upstart Mechanick Lords, but flew so high as bringing *Oliver* into question for those confusions of the State) was now in as ticklish a condition as ever; therefore *Lambert* was gently

laid aside, and his Commission taken from him, and his Regiments taken from him and disposed to better hands, and Spies and Eves-droppers dispersed through the Army to give him intelligence of their Affections and Inclinations.

This made him most suspiciously fearful, so that he began to dread every person or strange face he saw (which he would anxiously and intently view) for an Assassinate, that Book of *Killing no Murderer* perpetually running in his mind; It was his constant Custome to shift and change his lodging, to which he passed through twenty several locks, and out of which he had four or five wayes to avoid pursuit: when he went between *White-hall* and *Hampton-Court*, by private and back ways, but never the same backward and forward, He was always in a Hurry, his Guards behind and before riding a full Gallop, and the Coach always filled, especially the Boot with armed persons, he himself being furnish'd with private Weapons; and was now of more then difficult access to all persons.

A Plot was again on foot, and like a Mongril design that had no issue, was made up one half by the Cavalier, & the other half by himself (who was sure not to be behind hand in such designs) for which Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Dr. *Hewys*, and 3. other private persons lost their lives by a High Court of Justice, the Severity whereof so afflicted or affected the mind of his Daughter *Cleypool*, that falling sick with the pains and torments of an
Ulcer

Ulcer, in her intestines, which stopt her terms and made her frantick, she never ceased roaring against that bloody man, her Father.

He was now again adorned with another Successe and Triumph, by the Defeat of the *Spanish* Army and surrender of *Dunkirk* into his hands, *Lockhart* his Kinsman & General of the *English* Forces, being made Governour thereof, which I am constrained to pass without any further remark and from the height of this glory, level him with the dust of other Mortals.

This Kingdom was now almost stupified and tired out with struggling against his Government and Domination, when it pleased God to call him to an account of all that Mischief he had perpetrated; ushering his End with a great Whale some three Months before on the second of *June*, that came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed, and more immediately by a terrible Storm of Wind, the prognostick that the great *Leviathan* of men, that Tempest and overthrow of Government, was now going to his own place.

He was taken sick at *Hampton-Court* having not been well in mind sometime before (troubled with the last frantick words of his beloved Daughter *Claypole*, who threatned Judgement like another mad *Cassandra*, and with the insinuations and encroachments of the Republican party into the Army, nor were must of his Relations taint free of those principles, but were winding towards them:) the disease was a bastard Tertian which appeared

appeared not at first of any danger, but after a weeks time it began to shew very desperate symptoms, wherefore he was removed to *White-hall*, where his Chaplains and others of that pious Family, kept private meetings and fastings of which they were so vainly confident (as before) that they obtruded their unseasonable thanks to God for the certainty of it, and with the same unseasonable flattery and pickthank with the Protector, deluded him into the like periwasion, so that he told his Physicians, *He should not dye this bout*; but the Fits proving worse and worse, and causing him to talk idely, and to faint often, They in Councell concluded, he could scarce survive another Paroxysme, at which the Privy Council being astonish'd, they immediately repaired to him, about his settling a Successor, whom by the Petition he was to declare in his life-time; but he was then scarce himself, which they perceiving, interrogated him, if he appointed not his Son *Richard*, whereunto he answered in the affirmative. It was thought that he had designed *Fleetwood* in his ultimate thoughts but the distraction of the choice betwixt his Son and Son-in-law, had made him leave it undetermined (a private Will relating to his Family he made at his first sickning at *Hampton-court*.) Continuing in this condition, he dyed on Friday the said 3^d. of *September* at 3. of the clock in the afternoon, though divers rumours were spread, that he was carried away in the Tempest the day before: His body being Opened and Embalmed

balmed his Milt was found full of corruption and filth, which was so strong and stinking, that after the Corps were Embalmed and filled with Aromatick odours, and wrapt in Cere-cloath, six double, in an inner sheet of Lead, and a strong Wooden-coffin, yet the filth broke through them all, and raised such a noisome stink, that they were forced to bury him out of hand; but his name and memory stinks worse.

The Corps (presently after his expiration) being buried for the aforesaid reason, a Coffin was on the 26. of *September*, about 10. at night, privately removed from *White-hall* in a Mourning Horse, attended by his Domestick Servants, to *Sommerset house*, where it remained in private for some dayes, till all things were in readiness for publick view; which being accomplished, his Effigies was with great state and magnificence exposed openly; multitudes daily flocking to see the sight, which appeared in this order.

The first room where the Spectators entered, was wholly hung with Black: at the upper-end whereof, was placed a Cloath and Chair of State: In like manner was the second and third, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to pass through. The fourth room was completely hung with black Velvet, the Ceiling being of the same; here lay the Effigies, with a large Canopy of Black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon it's
back

back apparrell'd in a rich Suit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, furr'd with Ermins: upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced and furr'd as the former, with rich strings and tassels of Gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroydered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely guilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the side of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Globe; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet-Cap furr'd with Ermines, futable to the Robes: behind the head was placed a rich Chair of Tissued gold, whereon was placed an Imperial Crown, which lay high that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of Black Velvet, under which was a Holland Sheet, born up by six stools covered with Cloth of Gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat Suit of Arms and at the Feet of the Effigies stood his Crest. This Bed had fix'd about it an Ascent of two steps; a little from thence stood eight silver Candlesticks, abut five foot high, with white wax Tapers standing in them, of three foot long. All these things were environed with Rails and Ballasters four-square, covered with Velvet; at each corner thereof was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their paws Streamers crowned. On both sides of the Bed were set up in Sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Arms with Banners and Banrols
of

of War, painted upon Taffaty, About the Bed stood men in mourning bare-headed; and without the Rails others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this Shew had been seen for many weeks together, the Scene was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there set up, standing upon an Aſcent under a Cloath of State; being veſted as it was before, lying: only now his purple-Velvet-Cap was changed for a Crown. In the ſame manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued until the 23. of *Novemb.* which day was appointed to to carry him in ſolemnity to *weſtminſter-Abby.*

This great Funeral was performed with very great State, in this manner following. All things being in readineſs, the Waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his Head, a Sword by his Side, a Globe and Scepter in his hands) was taken down from his ſtanding, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with Black Velvet, adorned with black Velvet, and with Plumes and Scutcheons, and drawn by fix Horſes in black Velvet. The Streets from *Somerſet-houſe* to *weſtminſter-Abby,* were guarded by Soldiers in new Red-coats and Black Buttons, with their Enſigns wrapt in Cypreſſe: which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

The

The Proceſſion.

In the firſt place went a Maſhal attended by his Deputy, and 13. more on horſe-back, to clear the way; after him followed the poor men of *Weſtmiſter* by two and two, in Mourning Gowns and Hoods; next to them, the Servants of thoſe Perſons of quality that attended the Funeral. Theſe were followed by the Proteſtors late domeſtick Servants, with his Barge-men and Water men. Then came the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*. Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Foreign Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters. After marched the poor Knights of *Windſor* in Gowns and Hoods: then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treafury, Navy, and Exchequer: next, the Commiſſioners of the Excife, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then the Commiſſioners for approbation of Preachers: behind theſe followed all the Officers, Meſſengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houſes of Parliament. Next in order followed his Phyſicians, The Head officers of the Army, the Officers and Aldermen of *London*. The Maſters of Chancery, and his Highneſſe Council at Law, The Judges of Admiralty, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of *London*. The Perſons Allied in Blood to the Proteſtor, and the Members of the other Houſe, The publick Miniſters

sters of Forraign-Princes. The *Holland* Ambassador alone, having his Train held up by four Gentlemen. Then the *Portugal* Ambassador, and the *French* Ambassador, in like manner. The Commissioners of the Great Seal. The Commissioners of the Treasury. The Members of his Privy-Council. All the Grandees in close Mourning (but it was once advised other wayes for fear of a surprise in the streets) the rest but in ordinary.

The whole Assembly passing along in divisions, were distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, Banners and Hories, whereof there were eleven in all, four being covered with black Cloath, and seven in Velvet. These passing in fine order, at length came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each side of which were six Banner-Rolls (twelve in all) born by several Persons; and likewise several Pieces of the Protectors Arm, carried by eight Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went *Garter* principal King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bare-headed. Next came the chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horse of Honour, in very rich Trappings imbroydered on Crimson-Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes of Feathers, being led by the Master of the Horse. The Rear of this brave shew was brought up by the Protectors Cuard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horse.

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the West-Gate of the *Abby-Church* of *Westminster*

ster, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the East end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a most magnificent Structure, built in the same form as one before had been (on the like occasion) for King James, but much more stately.

And here they lodged and *usurped* a Grave (the impatient Spectators fretting at this pompous Mummery and Magnificent *cheat*, taking his funeral triumphs for a more solemn *Cozenage* of the Executioner, till the due inevitable justice of Heaven found them out, after the reduction of His Sacred Majesty in peace to His Kingdoms, which would very difficultly have been so accomplished if this resolute destroyer had survived to that blessed time.

On the 30. day of *January* 1660, that day 12 years of his most nefarious parricide, his Carcasse with *Bradshaws* and *Iretons*, having been digged out of their Graves, were carried to the *Red-Lyon* in *Holborn*, and from thence drawn in Sledges to *Tyburn*, where they hanged from Ten of the Clock in the morning till Sun-set, with their Faces towards *White-hall*, and were then inhumed under the Gallows, and His Head set upon *Westminster-Hall* to be the becoming Spectacle of his Treason, where on that *Pinacle* and *Legal Advancement* it is fit to leave this Ambitious wretch.

